

BRAHMENDRA SWAMI
HIS LIFE & ROLE IN MARATHA HISTORY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.

Modern Biography

" It is perhaps, " as Lytton Stratchey has remarked, " as difficult to write a good life as to lime one. " The technique of modern biography, which began in the twentieth century, differs vastly from that of the old. The basis of former biographies was the principle that ' with the dead there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. ' Most of the old biographers were devout worshippers of the person whose biographies they wrote. As Macaulay put it, ' the fanaticism of the devout worshipper of genius is proof against all evidence and all argument. The character of his idol is a matter of faith; and the province of faith is not to be invaded by reason. ' He further adds, ' We are all inclined to judge of others as we find them. Our estimate of character always depends much on the manner in which that character affects our own interests and passions. We find it difficult to think well of those by whom we are thwarted or depressed and we are ready to admit every excuse for the vices of those who are useful or agreeable to us.'¹

1. Macaulay Essays: Lord Bacon p. 349.

Should the biographer then merely commemorate or celebrate the dead or aim at a truthful representation of the facts of life with a view to revealing personality? Is the business of a biographer merely to be complimentary? Lockheart, Froude and Edmond Gosse are the vanguard of the movement, the precursors of new order. The old school accused these biographers of ingratitude, irreverence, unkindness; of having encroached upon forbidden territories and desecrated the sanctities of private life. The - superstition that seems to enjoin upon the biographer not to talk ill of the dead is a silly superstition. The great Dr. Johnson has shown the right path to the modern biographer in this respect. " If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, " said he, " there is yet more respect to be paid to knowledge to virtue, to truth. "

Lytton Stratchey

Lytton Stratchey the prince and hero of modern biography may be said to have established a new biographical tradition. The biographer according to him is not a mere chronicler or compiler or annotator. He is an artist, his first and foremost duty being ' to preserve a brevity which excludes everything that is redundant and nothing that is significant. ' The second is to maintain his own freedom of spirit. It is not his business to be complimentary;

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it is his business to lay bare the facts of the case as he understands them dispassionately, impartially and without ulterior intentions.¹

In the case of Brahmendra Swami, for instance, we find two distinct groups of biographers -- one of blind admirers and the other of merciless censors. As history usually requires to be re-written, an attempt has been made here to recast the biography of Brahmendra Swami on these new lines with the help of original correspondence bearing on the life of the said monk.

Importance of Brahmendra Swami

In the true sense, as Carlyle says, " History is a biography of great men ". Statesmen, soldiers, reformers and leaders have no doubt a place in history. But it has also been found that saints, real or otherwise, like Brahmendra Swami, should possess a separate niche in history. Brahmendra Swami was a notable figure in the first half of the eighteenth century history of the Marathas. Venerated as a saint and as the spiritual guide of the first two Peshwas, Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao I, he was also known as the Guru of Chhatrapati Shahu. The fame of the Swami as a very influential man

1. Lytton Stratchey: Eminent Victorians. Indian Edition
1946. Preface.

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of God has traditionally come down to the present age, but there is very little authentic material to corroborate this side of his life. On the contrary, it has been found that he was completely absorbed in secular rather than spiritual matters and took part in politics also when his own interests were at stake. He carried on a brisk correspondence with many members of the Maratha state including Chhatrapati Shahu, the Peshwas and the nobles like Dabhade, Nimbalkar, Jadhav, Holkar, Angre and Pawar, as also with the ladies of the said families. The Maratha nobility revered him not only as a Guru, but also as an experienced and widely travelled man of the world.

Grant Duff

It was Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, who for the first time brought to light this Mahapurush. The title "Mahapurush" had been used by the Swami himself in one of his letters to Sambhaji Angre.¹ Grant Duff, among other sources, refers in his history to an important collection of political letters which he was allowed to use as freely as he would have liked but of which he was not permitted to take copies. "The Swami"

wrote Duff, " was a much venerated person in the country and was the ' Mahapurush ' of Bajirao and his brother Chimaji-Appa and seems to have possessed their entire confidence. The Peshwa's letters to his own brother and to the Swami give in detail various aspects of his life, in a familiar manner, without disguise. These are quite invaluable for revealing the career of conquest of the two Peshwa brothers." ¹

Bapat's Bajirao

Fifty years after Duff, in 1879, a few letters of the Swami were published in the Kavyetihasa-sangraha for the first time. In the same year there appeared a biography of Bajirao Peshwa by Nageshrao Vinayak Bapat, written for the Daxina Prize Committee. He has allotted two chapters to the Mahapurush in this biography and appears to have relied on Duff, oral anecdotes and a personal visit to Dhavadashi. He describes the Swami as a great learned Guru and compares him with Ramdas. The Daxina Prize Committee reviewed the book in the following eulogistic words. " Bajirao had a preceptor as Shivaji had his Ramdas. This divine sage lived in a village near Satara called Dhavadshi. A most graphic description is given of the saint's hermitage and surroundings. The language and thoughts are eminently suited

1. Duff Chap. XV p. 232. footnote.

to the occasion. There is something in this portion of the narrative that elevates the mind above itself and fills it with a noble pride. It is a picture which is simple, magnificent and grand, and in which the literary artist has achieved a success worthy of high endeavours." Bapat has included in his work many imaginary events which are not historically true. For instance, he brings the Swami from the Konkan to Dhavadshi in 1700 though in fact he moved to the latter place in 1728. Similarly he ascribes a book called 'Bodhamritasara' to the Swami, like the 'Dasabodh' of Ramdas. The Swami never wrote a book in his life. He was as a matter of fact incapable of writing such a book. Such a book has not been referred to in Marathi religious literature or in other relevant published and unpublished Marathi literature which the writer has had access to.

Bapat also gave a short biography of the Swami in 1879 in the Balankur magazine of Baroda based on the biography of the Swami published by K. N. Sane in the Kavyetihasa-sangraha a little earlier. The biography was written to arouse interest in Maratha history and is unscientific. Bapat's work therefore lacks the historical approach.¹

1. Bapat Bajirao, IV Edition. 1895 pp. 43-56 & the footnot

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The Gazetteer of the Ratnagiri District, where the early activities of the Swami were mainly confined, though recording various details regarding religious matters, makes only a passing reference to the Swami. The Satara Dist. Gazetteer also makes only a passing reference to the Swami from Duff's history in the note on the place ' Dhavadshi ' ¹. This would mean that when the Gazetteers were compiled, the Swami was not considered an important historical personage. The explanation apparently is that all the necessary important material regarding the Swami's role in the history of the Marathas was not available to the compilers of the Gazetteers. The memory of the Swami appears to have become faint in the Ratnagiri District.

Effect of Patriotic Awakening on Marathi Literature

Bapat's publication on the Swami was hailed enthusiastically by the public. Maratha society of those days looked with admiration on any publication connected with Maratha history whatever was its standard. A critical appreciation of history had not yet dawned upon its horizon. Living in an age when Faith held sway they had a lively interest in religious personalities, whether

1. Gaz. of Satara Dist. p. 466

of the status of Ramdas or Brahmendra Swami. The name of the Swami now surrounded by a halo of obscurity, created a stir in Maharashtra. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, there was a newly awakened interest in the history of the Marathas as a result of patriotic awakening and Maratha history began to be interpreted in a romantic spirit. No one could think of a Shivaji or a Bajirao without their Gurus Ramdas or Brahmendra Swami.

Rajwade and Parasnis

This religious awakening is reflected in the historical writings and novels of the time like those of Hari Narayan Apte and Sahabrabudhe.

Within a course of fifteen years Bapat's book had passed through four editions and people were eager to read the correspondence between Bajirao and the Swami as mentioned by Duff. Actuated perhaps by this spirit of revival V.K.Rajwade and D.B.Parasnus went to Dhawadshi and Pimpri between 1895 and 1900 and copied several letters throwing light on the life of the Swami. Both went separately and at different times. Rajwade's letters were published by instalments in 1899 in the Granthmala magazine of Vijapurkar and were later included in a book form in ' Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane,

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to and

Volume III. ' About 250 letters , most of them / by the Angres, were included in this volume. When the biography of the Swami by Parasnus was in press at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 5th Dec. 1899, R.P.Karkaria, a research scholar interested in Maratha history, read a paper on " The correspondence of a Maratha political ecclesiast of the eighteenth century" and this was published in the Bombay Gazette.¹

Parasnus published his celebrated biography of the Swami in 1900. He appended to the biography 375 select letters of the Swami. The Kesari, a leading Marathi paper, reviewed the book in its leader on 5th March 1901.

In July 1901, Rajwade published his famous introduction to his Volume III, a philippic against the Swami in the eighty eighth volume of the Granthamala.² Parasnus made a futile attempt to reply and this reply is also published in the same volume. Parasnus and Rajwade held

1. Bombay Gazette Dec.14, 1899.

2. R.III Pr. p. 193.

"The Swami was the pioneer in creating an example for the future generations for hatching bad conspiracies while donning ochre-coloured clothes; for treacherously stabbing in the backs of those who had faith in him. Every future generation copied the example and made it darker still. This is the past history of the ruin of Maharashtra. "

quite opposite views of the Swami. Parasnisi regarded him as the power behind the throne in Maratha politics and raised him to the status of Ramdas. Rajwade, on the other hand, stamped him as a meddler, selfish and greedy man and a veritable curse on Maratha society.

Rajwade's criticism based on the original letters does away with the halo of sanctity which surrounded the Swami. His powerful language and cogent arguments were largely responsible for moulding the opinions of later historians about the Swami. Rajwade's criticism was so bitter and scathing that it left a lasting adverse effect upon the minds of a large section of the Marathas.

The Period of Controversy

Between 1900 and 1905 a heated controversy was carried on off and on, in Marathi periodicals regarding the Swami arising out of the opposite views expressed by Rajwade and Parasnisi. N.R.Alekar, a pleader from Nagpur and a protagonist of the Swami, made a counter attack on Rajwade in volume 90 of the Granthmala. In this battle of - pamphlets which appeared in the Vividhjnnavistara in 1902 Dec, a writer in the Vividhjnnavistara, and Alekar wrote in opposition to each other. S.V.Athlye then ^{and} sojourning at Indore, interested in Maratha history, wrote a series of nine articles defending the Swami in the

Marathi weekly Kesari, between June 1904 and January 1905. Sardesai also contributed an article to the ' Sayaji - Vijaya ', a weekly paper of Baroda, comparing the Swami to Kavi Kalash, the evil genius of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. H.N.Apte published a small biographical sketch of the Swami in his issue of the ' Karmanuk ' of 5th December 1901. He seems to have avoided all extreme views about the Swami. After 1905 the craze created by the Swami's life seems to have disappeared from the public mind.

The Effect of the Russo - Japanese War, & World War I

" Year 1905, the year of Russo-Japanese war " according to Lenin, " began a movement in the East. " It ushered ^{few} a new epoch in modern history in which the East also began to count. In fact it was an epoch of Asiatic assertion and a revolt against the Western conquerors. Indians began to take pride as Asians. Religion and provincial history therefore receded in the back-ground before the onrush of the Asiatic feeling.

Within ^{few} years followed that great holocaust, the first World War, when every nook and corner of the world received in one form or the other the impact of this great disaster. Nearly seventy lacs of people lost their lives and about three crores became disabled. This colossal deathroll changed the outlook of the people. They turned sceptics, secularists and atheists.

Some even went to the extent of shunning nationalism. Many began to think that the spreading of internationalism would alone be the panacea for these ills of the world. The repercussion of these world events on Maharashtra changed the outlook of the Marathas. Brahmendra Swami naturally vanished suddenly in this age of new ideas and the attention of the people was diverted to Japan and Europe. The new generation was less religious-minded than the old. Religious preceptors too became less important in the eyes of the public. Stray articles about the Swami, however, appeared from time to time in periodicals. The selections from the Peshwa Daftars in 45 volumes were published in 1930-35 which threw new light on the lives of the Peshwas and the Chhatrapati. M.M. Patkar contributed one article on the Swami in the Modern Review of July 1937. G.G. Bhagwat wrote in favour of the Swami in his book 'Marathyanchya Apsatil Ladhaya' in 1940.

The Sahyadri magazine of Poona had two special issues in May 1939 and May 1940 containing respectively articles on ChimajiAppa and Bajirao.

These articles do not make any mention of the Swami and the writers obviously ignored the role of the Swami in the lives of Bajirao and ChimajiAppa. This, however, is not a matter of faith or belief but of history and it is not correct to overlook the influence of the Swami

while discussing on Bajirao or Chimajiappa. The issue was revived by Sakhare, a primary teacher from Dhavadshi, and Hadkar, a journalist from Bombay, in the Maharashtra magazine of Poona in 1956. Neither of them, however, contributed anything new to the subject.

The Dhavadshi Daftar

Some two thousand two hundred letters about the Swami and his vatan villages were in two bundles of the Deccan College Historical Museum Collectionx. These letters are in Modi mostly copies and out of these about four hundred have been published so far (vide Appendix C). I came across these bundles in 1954. The book of ' Barnisi ' , in which Duff had got the original letters of the Swami and the Peshwas copied, has been mentioned by Parasnisi.¹

This book of 'Barnisi' or ' Chitnisi Mestak' was also found by me, in the Deccan College Collection. Twenty-five letters concerning the Swami were found copied in this book. Prof. Shejwalkar, in his work on the selections from the Parasnisi Collection had kept these bundles untouched. He suggested to me this subject for research and asked me to go carefully through the - correspondence. The letters in these bundles were in

1. PBC Pr. p. 4

fragmentary condition, unsorted, un-numbered and sometimes wrongly numbered. I had most of the letters repaired, and then numbered, sorted and arranged them. These letters are not as clear as the letters of the later Peshwa period, that is, the post 1740 letters. To read them, I had to take the help of the late K.V.Purandare, research scholar from the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandala Onkar from the Alienation Office who was then working in the Deccan College and Prof. Shejwalkar. After selection, I personally copied one thousand letters and indexed about another thousand when I went through the entire correspondence. Now after the passing of half a century when the dust raised by the unscientific controversy has finally settled down, it has become possible to arrive at the final estimate of the Swami with the comprehensive views of all the scanty material at our hands. I strongly felt that the Swami's biography should be re-written in a more authentic form. I came across several matters which had been overlooked by Rajwade, Parasnus and others. With a view to get some more papers, collect anecdotes and information and secure photographs, I went to Dhawadshi Anewadi, and Parshuram, Malshiras, Rajur, and Dudhadwadi. No documents could be found at any of these places and this thesis has been written after obtaining whatever information could be secured from all possible sources.

As a result of the laborious research the following are the new facts contributed by this thesis to Maratha History.

Chapter I: Gives a brief history of the literature on the Swami.

Chapter II: Attempts to trace Jnanendra Saraswati, the so-called Guru of Brahmendra Swami.

Identification of Rajur and Dudhadwadi, the Swami's native villages left unidentified by historians with the help of architectural, geographical and circumstantial evidence and the original correspondence and a map showing part of Aurangabad Dist. where these villages are located.

Political, social, economical and religious condition of the Deccan on the eve of the Swami's birth. Reconstruction of the Parshuram temple started in 1708 and not in 1706. One more example to show that Balgauli is a historical personality. The Swami's mention in his unpublished letter that Balaji Vishwanath and Mahadaji Ballal the Subhedar Sarkarkun came to see him at Parshuram.

Chapter III: Examples of the Siddi's harassment in the Swami's villages from original unpublished sources. A new light on the nature of Siddi Sad. He was not as dark as historians painted him to be. He complied with almost all the requests of the Swami.

Chapter III: Identification of Appaji and Santoobai Angre.
contd.

Appaji's relations with the Swami. The Swami's duplicity with the Angres is clearly revealed. Complete history of Krishnambhat and Kanojes, the Swami's favourites with the help of original sources.

ing.

Chapter IV: Some new letters throw light on the Swami's relations with the Queens. New facts about the Swami's quarrels with the patils of Virmade, & Dhavadshi.

The Swami's remarks on contemporary sardars.

New information about his dependents, servants and batiks.

Chapter V : A detailed account of the building works of the Swami. Corrections of Parasnisi's figures and additions from original documents with a big map is a new feature. New information about his fondness of gardening. The Swami's demands, which have become a controversial subject among historians and his pecuniary affairs giving his rates of interest and sources of income have been described in detail with the help of published and unpublished sources. His miracles also have been examined.

Chapter VI: The Swami's religious, political social and ethical views with the help of examples from the Peshwa Daftari selections which were not available to

Chapter VI: Parasnus and Rajwade and from unpublished contd.
 correspondence about the Swami. Ideas of a guru, heaven and hell . His vows and oaths, prophecies. His ambition, political outlook , favouritism, recommendations, selfishness, meddling in administration etc. His views on the Maratha state ^{the} Chitpavans and/Marathas are worth noting.

Chapter VII: Is a very important one. What the Swami's opinions were about himself, what the contemporaries - thought about him and how the modern critics behold him is shown in this chapter. His comparison with Ramdas and other saints.

Chapter VIII: The Swami's personality as revealed by the available sources is described here, which includes his appearance, likes, clothes, pets, daily routine, learning etc. His final role in Maratha History.

Chapter IX :Describes the Social life in Maharashtra in the early eighteenth century showing the Maratha life in its various aspects such as communications, campaigns, indebtedness of the Maratha nobility, the different cesses and rokhas the ordinary man was called upon to pay,employment of foreigners, encouragement to traders and merchants, medicines, customs and beliefs, litigation about vatan,

Chapter IX : robbery, marriages, sati, adultery, bribery and
contd.
corruption, prices and wages and comparison with
the contemporary English society.

Appendices:

- (A) Parasnisi and Rajwade have / many mistakes in
the reading of original letters. These have been
corrected with the help of original letters. A
parallel list of letters published by Parasnisi and
their originals in the Deccan College Historical
Museum is given.
- (B) Incorrect dates of Parasnisi & Rajwade have been
corrected with the help of other contemporary letters
in Peshwa Daftari & the original letters in the
Deccan College Museum.
- (C) The history and analysis of the Dhavadshi daftari,
with its bakhars & letters is given in this appendix.
Appendices A, B & C are new additions to history.
- (D) With the help of published and unpublished sources
this chronology of the Swami has been prepared.
- (E) About 100 selected unpublished Modi letters
transcribed in Marathi supporting the arguments
in the thesis.

CHAPTER II : EARLY LIFE OF THE SWAMI

CHAPTER II.THE EARLY LIFE OF THE SWAMI.1. Birth at Dudhadwadi.

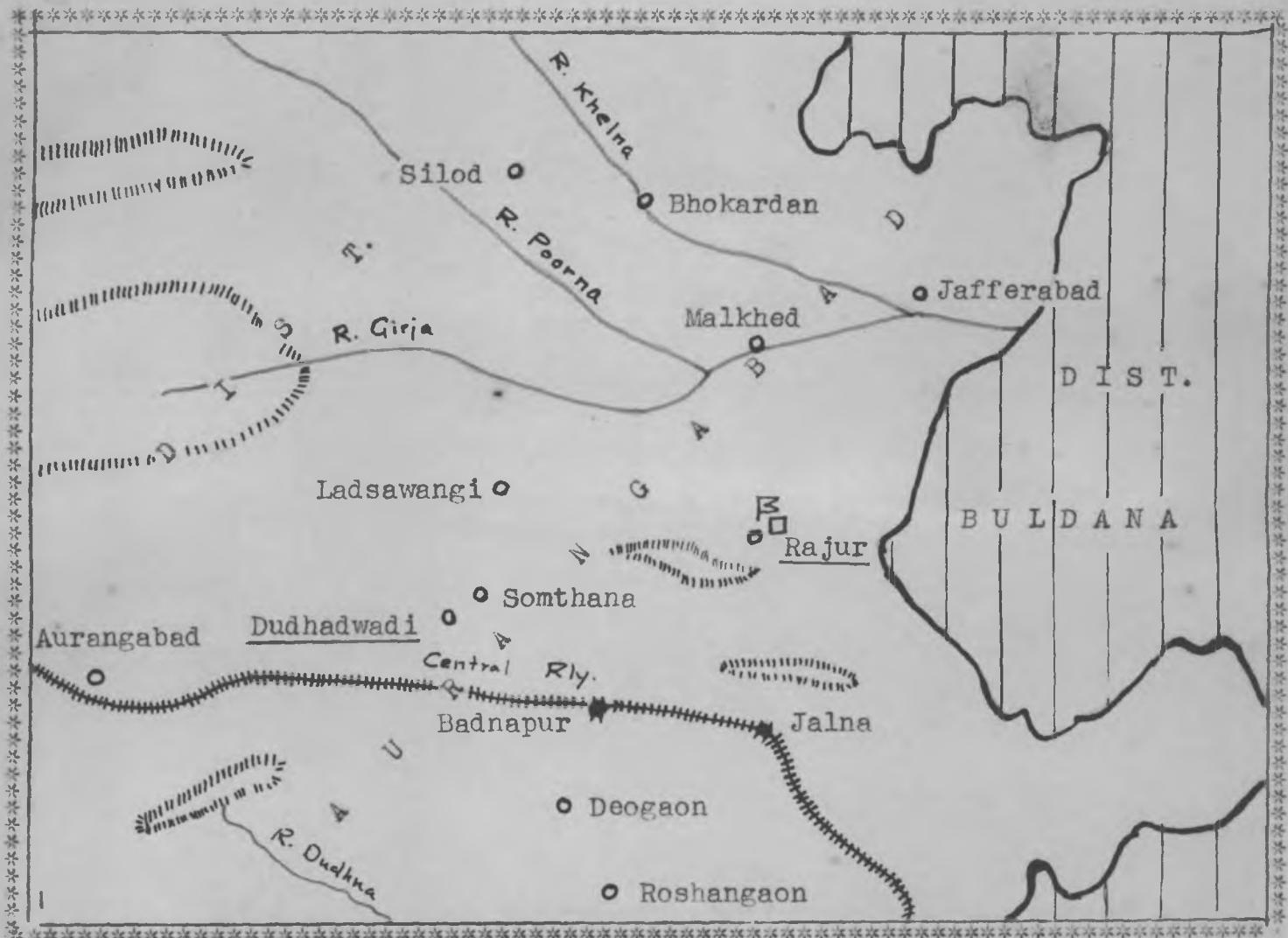
Brahmendra Swami hailed from Aurangabad District in the Marathawada. Saints Jnaneshwar, Janardanswami, Eknath, and Ramdas also hailed from this District. The Swami is said to have been born in c. 1649.¹ This date has been given only by the Bakhar which appears to have been written in 1850 and there is no other proof of the date of birth of the Swami anywhere in his correspondence. If it was 1649, the Swami should have lived upto the age of 96 years which is not supported by other evidences, as there are hardly any references to the reigns of Chhatrapati Shivaji and Sambhaji. The place of his birth was - Dudhadwadi, a small village in the Jalna Tehsil of the Aurangabad District.*

2. Dudhadwadi and Rajur.

Rama, the hero of Ramayana, had once said that the mother and the birthplace of a person are dearer to him

1. SKBC p.1

2. * Parasnus, Rajwade, Sardesai and other historians have left this place unidentified.



Scale: 1 Inch = 15 Kilometers or 8.72 miles.

DUDHADWADI AND RAJUR

Map showing the location of the villages Dudhadwadi
and Rajur in Aurangabad District.

than the heaven itself. The Swami in his later years had the same affection for Dudhadwadi and Rajur, where he was born and where he had passed his childhood. Time and again he made efforts to secure the grant of these villages from the Peshwa, the Chhatrapati and even the Nizam.¹

It is very surprising that Rajwade who was very meticulous in other respects left this question undecided. Parasnisi, Sardesai too relied on the Bakhar and did not take the trouble to identify these places. The Bakhar tells us that the Swami was born at Dudhawadi Somthana near Ganapati's Rajur in the province of Berar,* while about Rajur, it says that it was a great place of Ganapati.² As for the exact nomenclature of the places, it appears that the names were Rajur or Rajuri and Dudhewadi or - Dudhadwadi.² These places are in the Moglai or the Nizam state and in the Jafferabad pargana of that time nearabout Jalna.³

1. PBCL 259, 290, 351.

* "वर्णाउप्रालै श्रीगणपतीचे राजुरानंजिक दुधेवाडी सोमठाणा येथे"

@ "राजुरी दोथीक गणपति महास्तुदूर स्थान पाढून "

2. PBCL 59, 290, 351.

3. DCHM 12/1066 " जाफराबाद परगणेचांत राजुरी देखा "

Ramaji Ganesh, the Swami's servant, was supervising the building of the tank and the temple at Rajur from 1742 to 1745. He was asked by Nana Saheb Peshwa to borrow money for the time being from local money-lenders of Devgaon and Jalnapur. The village Devgaon still could be seen south of the railway station Badnapur. It is evident therefore, that Rajur is situated nearabout Jalna and Devgaon.¹ Parashnis, in a footnote to letter No. 59 has wrongly stated that Rajuri is in the Bedar district.² Villages named Rajur could be found in the Poona, Ahmednagar Beed and Buldhana district also. The Bakhar makes the mention of Dudhewadi along with Somthana. The map of Aurangabad district to-day reveals that the villages Somthana and Devgaon and the town of Jalna are near the village Duhadwadi which is known today as Duhad.

From the correspondence it seems that Rajur was a place of Ganapati's temple. The building of the temple and a big tank were in progress between 1742 and 1745 at Rajur.³ After a careful study it can be said that the Rajur of Brahmendra Swami is situated in the Aurangabad District in the Bhokardan Tehsil, 16 miles from Jalna, on the Jalna-Bhokardan route. There is a small hill -

1. R.III 94

2. PBCL 59

3. Ibid 59, 290: R.III 94.

about 150' in height by the side of the road. In addition to the temple built by Brahmendra Swami which stands in tact, remains of another old temple are scattered here and there on this hillock. The kalasa and the dome appear to be superimposed on an ancient temple. The architecture of the temple is a lime work and appears to be of the eighteenth century. The Swami had repaired the temples of Bhuleshwari at Yawat and Meruling temple near Dhawadshi, both belonging to the Yadava period. In both these cases the Maratha type of structure has been superimposed on the old one. We find exactly the same thing at Rajur. This Ganapati temple is known as one of the twenty-one Ganapatya Keshtras.¹ The sanctity of this place is still believed in by the devout worshippers of the deity which still helps them in fulfilling their prayers and wishes. Sweet oil lamps are seen burning there for twenty four hours. The village Dudhadwadi is situated three miles from the Railway station Badnapur on the Aurangabad-Jalna rail route. The distance between Dudhadwadi and Rajur is about twenty miles. At present there are about twenty houses in the village Dudhadwadi.

From the remains of the old temple at Rajur it appears to have been a fine temple belonging perhaps to the Yadava or some other ancient period (see the photographs). The Archaeological Department seems to

1. Ankusha, Vol.VIII, Nos. 4-6, Shake 1850.

have overlooked this temple. The well and the tank mentioned in the letters could still be seen at Rajur. The tanks is round shaped, now of course dried up, and its diameter is about two hundred yards.(see the map and photograph).

3. Childhood.

The Swami was then called Vishnu, his father's name was Mahadeo and his mother was known as Umabai. Mahadeo Bhat was a Deshastha Rigvedi Brahmin. His surname is not known. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the surname was seldom mentioned either in correspondence or in the daily course of things except in the matter of grants. Persons were known by their names and by their fathers' names only. Vishnu's thread ceremony was performed at the age of seven with the help of whatever could be collected by the parents by begging. Vishnu was an extraordinary and precocious child. For four years after he was invested with the sacred thread, it is said that he studied the Shastras ~~for four years~~ under the guidance of his father. Unfortunately Vishnu's parents passed away when he was only twelve years old. Vishnu had great leanings towards asceticism, so he decided to renounce worldly life in pursuit of a spiritual goal.¹

1. SKBC pp. 1-3

4. Maharashtra in the middle of the seventeenth century.

It is worthwhile taking a brief survey of the political and religious conditions in Maharashtra in the middle of the seventeenth century for the understanding of the social environment in which the boy Vishnu found himself.

a. Political Condition.

The Yadava dynasty of Devagiri came to an end in 1318 after the invasion of Allaudin Khilji. Islamic power in the south reached its zenith under Muhammad bin Tughluq. Daulatabad, the headquarter of the Governor of the south being far away from Delhi, the Governors could not be controlled by the Tughluqs and anarchy was the result. Out of this arose the Bahamani kingdom in 1347 which overthrew the sovereignty of the Delhi sultanate and assumed suzerainty over the Deccan. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Bahamani kingdom broke into five separate kingdoms. Berar and Daulatabad were respectively under the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar and the Kutubshahi dynasty of Golkonda. In the Muslim onrush, the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar maintained its existence in the south for two centuries but at last fell before the united might of the five southern Muslim states in 1565.¹

1. SHA I & II pp. 27-29.

Towards the close of Akbar's reign, the Mughal empire again began to expand southward beyond the Narbada river.¹ Akbar took advantage of the weakness of the Ahmednagar kingdom and wrested Berar from it and the Mughal frontier in a few years reached the upper courses of the Krishna. During Jehangir's feeble reign, Mughal expansion was arrested for the time being on account of the power of the Nizamshahi kingdom under the wise and vigorous regency of Malik Amber, an Abyssinian slave of rare genius and capacity. His wise revenue system while enriching the state made the peasantry happy. Building up a lasting entente of the Deccani powers and utilising the Maratha light cavalry, he pushed the Mughals back. The Siddis of Janjira, who later came in contact with the Marathas, were also Abyssinians like Malik Amber. Shah Jahan made heroic exertions to re-establish his power and prestige, and began a vigorous policy in the Deccan. In February 1636 he arrived in the Deccan to direct personally the military operations with three armies consisting roughly of 50,000 men. Daulatabad fell on 17th June 1633 and the Nizamshahi king was captured and imprisoned by the Emperor. Shahaji, the father of Chhatrapati Shivaji, with the help of Bijapur, set up a puppet Nizamshah on the throne of Ahmednagar kingdom and ruled a portion of the territory in his name. But Shahaji was compelled to surrender the prince in December 1636. The region nearabout the Swami's

birth place thus finally passed into the hands of the Mughals with the final breaking of the Nizamshahi kingdom. This region had been the cockpit of the contending armies since the advent and establishment of the Muslims in the Deccan by the middle of the fourteenth century. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda were anxious to encroach upon the neighbouring Ahmednagar kingdom and the ex-officers of the Nizamshahi kingdom allied themselves with the Bijapur and Golkonda Sultans. The Mughal Deccan, thus came to be threatened by two rich and armed rulers.¹

Prince Aurangzeb, at the age of eighteen, became the viceroy of the Deccan in 1636 and he made Aurangabad, near Daulatabad his headquarters. On account of the proximity of ^{the} two powerful states, the Deccan for a long time caused a heavy drain on the imperial treasury. Everywhere Aurangzeb found signs of mal-administration, the work of his six predecessors. The actual collection of revenue was sometimes only one tenth of the normal assessment and Aurangzeb found it impossible to make both ends meet. The former viceroys had been pitiless in their exactations from the ryots and exercised great tyranny on the people thus estranging all their subjects.² Aurangzeb

1. SSHA p.25

2. SHA IV pp.256-257

wrote to Shah Jehan at this time, " The Deccan is in disorder as it has not been governed well for the last ten years." Even during Aurangzeb's viceroyalty there was a deficit of nearly 20 lacs of rupees, but silently and steadily he succeeded in three years in doubling the revenue of several mahals. With his accession as emperor in 1657, Aurangzeb began to pay more attention to the south instead of the north.

Shivaji, son of Shahaji, the Bijapur general, revolted and started his independent activities in the neighbourhood of Poona in 1647. Aurangzeb's move to the north for the war of succession ~~was~~ and divisions among the Bijapur nobles combined to remove the only checks on Shivaji's ambition.

b. Social and Economic Condition.

Economic distress resulted in political serfdom. Though Berar and the Godavari plains were fertile areas, wars of the three preceding centuries had devastated this tract.¹ The Khiljis and the Tughluqs squeezed the people. The Bahamani, Imadshahi and Nizamshahi kingdoms established local states but there was no peace or order. Many of the parganas and mahals were allotted for the armies. In the sixteenth century the revenue collection in northern India

1. SHA IV pp. 256-257.

had been systematised by Raja Todarmal but the Deccan had no revenue system at all. To this were added the burnings and scorchings during invasions. Farmers often deserted their farms and became a source of danger to the public. Military campaigns were a matter of course, life and property became insecure on account of bandits and partial famines stalked the land. The Hindu populace lived from hand to mouth. There was no enthusiasm left in an ordinary Hindu mind. Recurring famines and wars had dispersed many families from their original habitats. Unfortunate persons left behind had to live and grow without any homely touch of sympathy from relations and acquaintances.

In 1630-31, the Deccan was affected byz a great famine. Van Twist, a Dutch merchant, had personally seen the condition of the country during this famine. "So little rain fell," writes Van Twist, "that the seed sown was lost and no grass grew. Cattle died. For want of grass cattle fed on the corpses. Carcasses of beasts were taken to eat. As the famine increased, men abandoned towns and villages and wandered helplessly. Men deserted their wives and children. Women sold themselves as slaves. Mothers sold their children. Some families took poison and so died together. Individuals lying in the street, not yet dead, were cut up by others and men fed on living men. In the village of Susuntra human flesh was sold in open market. The famine together with the war in the Deccan had "disjointed all trade out of frame."¹ The very roots of life

1. Moreland 'From Akbar to Aurangzeb 1923. pp.210-215.

were shaken. Villages became deserted and barren, the middle and upper classes practically disappeared and the merchant class gradually declined and decayed. The landed aristocracy was wiped out by Muslim rulers and patronage of culture and religion by higher classes received a setback. The revenue remained always in arrears, government work came to a standstill and "only the Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patils and Kulkarnis maintained their status quo."¹

c. Religious conditions.

Religion held powerful sway over the people in the seventeenth century in India. The conquerors attempted to impose their faith on the vanquished, but the philosophy and way of life of the Hindus and Muslims were an entire antithesis.²

The Muslims carried on proselytising on a vast scale and every nala, hilltop, and village had its pir or darga or mosque parallel to the Hindu temples and sanctuaries. Ancient Hindu learning at Paithan and Puntamba declined and the learned pandits from these places migrated to Kashi (present Varanashi) and other places in northern India.³

1. SMR. Purvardha pp. 117-121

2. Ibid. pp. 114-121

3. P.V.Kane Shivaji Nibandhavali Part 1 pp.1-24. The family of Gagabhatta, the well known pandit from Kashi who had crowned Shivaji, is said to have migrated from Paithan in the fourteenth century.

On account of the discontinuation of grants to the holy shrines of the Hindus, they were neglected. According to Rajwade, the number of Muslims in the south never exceeded one lac.¹ Surrounded as they were by hordes of Hindus, like the ancient Spartans who were surrounded by Helots, the Muslim rulers could not afford to rule like the Spartans at the point of the sword. Maratha chiefs like Maloji and Shahaji Bhonsle, Lukji Jadhavrao, Murar Jagdeo and others were ready to sell their swords for a price and as the number of their horses usually turned the scale in a campaign, they enjoyed considerable military prestige.² Hindus were often appointed to responsible posts of Dewans and chief ministers, in the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda. Mohammadan rulers and officers married Hindu women. The increase in the number of converted people, however, lessened the sharpness of Islam because converted Muslims usually observed several of the Hindu rites. Many of them fasted on the Ekadashi day. Certain Hindu rites such as the weighing of the king against precious metals were adopted by the Muslims. For three hundred years the Muslim dominion had so much influenced the Hindu society that its main impact on it was the complete submission of Hindu social order to its Muslim masters. A cloud of

1. R. III Pr. p. 397.

2. SMR Purvardha pp. 114-121.

despondency came to be settled on the already gloomy Hindu mind. The rulers in the Kali Age were destined to be Yavanas and Hindus had been ousted from that high destiny. Hindu religious leaders first became despondent and turned their faces towards God, but they soon recovered and preached that idols are images of one God, that all people in the four-fold system (Chaturvarnya) are equal before God and religion, and that ' the Brahma is omnipresent.' Saints were supposed to be intermediaries between God and his devotional flock. They were therefore, greatly respected, their blessings were sought after and people believed in their power to perform miracles. The Navnath and Vaishnava sects were quietly doing the work of keeping alive the Hindu religion. Saints such as Ramdas and Tukaram pointedly showed the defects of the people and roused them from lethargy. The annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur was a rallying place for the Hindus.¹

Under Akbar and Jehangir, religion had a subordinate place. Hinduism was no barrier to holding office at Akbar's court and Hindus and Muslims were treated on par. Akbar married Rajput princesses and did not insist upon the conversion of the Rajputs or non-Muslims. Orthodox Muslims, however, nursed a strong feeling of resentment for this lukewarm attitude of their Emperor. Though

1. Shivaji Nibandhavali Part I pp.141-170

Hindu-Muslim equality flourished during Akbar's time, the seeds of discord were sown during the degenerate reign of Jehangir. Shah Jehan inherited the extravagance and luxury of his father and laid down that the Emperor's aim should be the furtherance of the Muslim religion as he came under the influence of the intolerant orthodox class. His elder son Dara, was conciliatory, while Aurangzeb was an unyielding Muslim and a staunch Sunni. In 1635, Shah Jehan issued a proclamation for a wholesale destruction of Hindu temples. On account of the tolerant policies of Akbar various ancient Hindu temples all over the country were reconstructed as the Hindus believed that such reconstruction gave them religious merits. As a result of the intolerance born in Shah Jehan's time, reports were made to Emperor Aurangzeb that the reconstructions were more than the permitted number. The Emperor, therefore, issued a firman to demolish these works. In Benares (Kashi), alone, seventy six temples were demolished, and an order was issued that Hindus should not build temples on government lands. In Kashmir prisoners were generally given an alternative to choose between conversion and death. Amnesty was given to those who embraced Islam and the rest were put to the sword. Near Jalalabad a holy war (Jehad) was declared against Hindus. Christians at Hooghly were persecuted. Hindu kings who willingly embraced Islam were richly rewarded. In short, though political peace prevailed under the Mughals, Hindu subjects were not happy.¹

1. SHA IV pp. 20-40

Society as a whole during the seventeenth century was orthodox and superstitious. Hinduism influenced Islam in some respects on account of the association of centuries. Even for the Emperor Jehangir, it became imperative to take the blessings of a pir before chastising Khurram.* Shah Jehan could not immediately do away with these established customs which favoured the Hindus. Though the solar almanac was replaced by the lunar one, belief in the augurs and omens, auspicious and inauspicious moments, weighing of the emperor every year and the celebration of the new year day were continued according to the old calendar. Moreover, Shah Jehan also desired the blessings of saints and gave away alms for securing prosperity. There were Pandits like Jagannath and astrologers like Munishwar at his court.¹ The daily life of the masses was largely influenced by astrologers. Belief in the ghosts was common and the appearance of a meteor would upset the peace of mind of the people.²

5. Vishnu's Penance at Hajur.

The political, social and religious condition of India a few years prior to the Swami's birth has been

* Shah Jehan's name before accession.

1. Shivaji Nibandhavali Part II pp. 140-152.

2. SPS 188, 212, 341, 1024.

described in the preceding pages. This condition had very disastrous consequences on the individual Hindu minds. They naturally turned from worldly to the spiritual spheres. Asceticism had already been given a high place in Hindu thought. Persons of superb genius like Jnaneshwar got themselves buried in earth in the name of Samadhi willingly and with pleasure. This tradition created a permanent awe and attraction amongst the people of Maharashtra especially in the region in which Vishnu was born and bred. It appears that boy Vishnu too was induced to choose this path of asceticism. Resolving to become a sanyasin, Vishnu suddenly left home and went to the shrine of Ganapati of Rajur, a few miles from Dudhadwadi, his birth place. Rajur was then, and still is a well known holy place of Ganapati. Here the boy practised rigid penance. He fasted and often subsisted himself only on some fruit and cow's urine. Every year from Shravana Shuddha Pratipada to Bhadrapada Shuddha Chaturthi he went into Samadhi. After a few years Vishnu, it is said, managed to reach Kashi from Rajur, probably in the company of some wandering ascetics. There he contacted the then well known Dasanami ascetic Jnanendra Saraswati, and succeeded in due course in getting himself ordained as a Paramhansa Sanyasi.

6. Jnanendra Saraswati.

After the completion of his study under the guidance

of Jnanendra Saraswati, Vishnu's name was changed to Brahmendra Swami¹ Saraswati.

Except the mention of his name, nothing do we know about Jnanendra Saraswati. The Sanyasis generally are divided into ten sub-orders known as Dasnamis. 'Saraswati' is one of these orders which admits Brahmins only. After the initiation the postulant received the 'mantra' from his 'guru' and a new name with the suffix 'Saraswati'.² Jnanendra belonged to this order of Saraswati.

It is very surprising that in the whole of the correspondence at our hand, there is not a single mention about Jnanendra Saraswati. The Swami many times recalled incidents from his past life, but never do we find him mentioning either about his Guru or his pilgrimage to Kashi or his study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy.

We come across the name Jnanendra Saraswati among the Sanskrit literators of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. There appear to be more than one person of that name in Kashi. It is, however, very difficult, nay almost impossible to connect them with Brahmendra Swami, in the absence of other evidences. Their times also do not agree

1. SKBC p.2

2. Oman - The Mystics, Ascetics & saints of India.
Chap. VII p.161.

with that of the Swami. Panditraj Jagannath (c.1590 - 1665) at the beginning of his book 'Rasagangadhar' has mentioned one Jnanendra, from whom the knowledge/Brahmavidya came to him. This Jnanendra, therefore, appears to have been the 'guru' of either Panditraj Jagannath or his father Pedubhatta.¹ Kavindracarya was a Sanskrit scholar in Kashi who appears to have done his writing between 1627 and 1650. In the collection of addresses presented by his contemporary scholars during Shah Jehan's reign, we come across one Brahmendra Saraswati and one Brahmendra Swamin.² About this Brahmendra Saraswati it is learnt that he was a pupil of one Devendra and the author of Vedant-Parithasa and Advaitamrita.³ From the period and the writings of these two it can definitely be said that both of them were different persons from Brahmendra Swami of Dhavadshi.

According to a tradition in Kashi, Bhattoji Dixit (c.1560 - 1640 A.D.) in order that his book should get the fame called Jnanendra Saraswati to his house and requested him to write criticism on his book 'Siddhanta Kaumudi'. The author Neelkhantha Vajpeyi has written a commentary on Mahabhashya which is titled 'Bhashatatvaviveka'. Here he

1. V.A.Ramaswami Shastri - Annamalainagar 1942 Jagannatha Pandita p.25

Dr.P.V.Kane - Sahitya Darpan of Vishwanath, Bombay 1951; p. 312.

2. H.D.Sharma & M.M.Patkar-Kavindracandrodaya 1939; p.29.

3. Catalogus Catalogorum of Aufrecht, I 389 a, II 88 a.

says that he studied under Jnanendra Saraswati.¹

The Mimansaka Udhisthira is of the opinion that Jnanendra Saraswati's life time was from Samvat 1550 to 1600, i.e. 1494 to 1544 A. D. The name of the guru of this Jnanendra Saraswati was Wamanendra Saraswati.

Bhattoji's commentary Praudhamanorama has been abridged by one Jnanendra Saraswati in his book Tatvabodhini.²

Among the Sanskrit grammarians of Kashi the 'Shesha' family is a prominent one. They seem to be connected with Maharashtra. Bhattoji was the pupil of Sheshavireshwara.

'Indra Saraswati' is a title prominent in the Shankara tradition of Kanchi Mutha. Perhaps Jnanendra Saraswati hailed from Kanchi.

From the number of years given in the life of the Swami in the Bakhar it appears that the Swami's contact with the 'guru' came sometime between 1670 and 1690. As Emperor Aurangzeb's famous firman of demolishing Hindu temples came in 1669, it is very likely that this demolishing witnessed by young Vishnu had lasting effect upon his mind

1. Ms. in the Govt. Library at Madras. Index Part II, Vol. 1 A, Book No. 1288, Page 1612.

2. Sanskrit Vyakaranshastraka Itihasa Prachyavaidya Pratisthana Motizeel, Ajamgadh Palace, Benares 6.

for reconstructing old temples and building new one^s in his later age. Chronologically, however, it is very difficult to connect Jnanendra Saraswati, mentioned in connection with Bhattoji Dixit, Panditraj Jagannath and Kavindracarya, with Brahmendra Swami of Dhavadshi.

We do knot know anything about the Swami's knowledge of Sanskrit, or of philosophy or Vedanta. Every year he had a practice of going into Samadhi during the month of Sravana. His expertness, however, in this province is not known. It is possible that the little of 'Hathayoga' he knew, he might have learnt under Jnanendra Saraswati if they had met.

Little is known about the early life of Brahmendra Swami. His correspondence throws no light on it. We have simply to grope in the dark. It is likely that some Jnanendra Saraswati might have been the 'guru' of the Swami. There might have been more than one Jnanendra Saraswati living at different times, and one of them might or might not have any connection with the Swami. It is also very likely that the Swami might never have gone to Kashi. For want of evidence, the last alone appears to be the plausible inference.

7. The Swami's Early life in Maharashtra.

It is said after staying for some days with his guru,

the Swami proceeded to the pilgrimage of the north to the Manasa lake.¹ After finishing his pilgrimage the Swami came to Maharashtra. It is said he first intended to settle down on the bank of Krishna, but finding the Desha insecure on account of Aurangzeb's invasion, he descended the ghats and came to the Konkan. Nothing more is known about the Swami's early activities during the reigns of Chhatrapati Shivaji and Sambhaji. The Swami once made a reference to Chandrarao More and the Raja of Shringarpur in his letter.² Baba Yakut and Mounibawa the two sages who were the contemporaries of Shivaji, have been referred to in a letter to Sambhaji Angre.³ The Swami compared Bajirao's exploits with those of Shivaji in a letter to Bajirao.⁴ Once the Swami recalled that Shivaji visited the temple of Parshuram.⁵ When Rajaram was at Jinji, he was profuse in his gifts of titles to lands and jagirs and these titles or gifts were many times even duplicated. Rajaram could not afford to neglect any of his proud though selfish chiefs.⁶ The Swami too seems to have secured the grant of the village of Dhamani near Chiplun,

1. SKBC p.2

2. DCHM 20/890

3. R.III 273

4. SPD 9/22

5. DCHM 20/893

6. SSHA XVI p.354

from Rajaram during this period.¹ He selected this place because it was very close to the holy place of Parshuram. With the beginning of his stay at Dhamani, the Swami opened a new page in his life.

8. The Swami becomes 'Bhargavram'.

From time immemorial, Parshuram and Konkan seem to be associated with each other. For many centuries, throughout the entire coast of western India, from Gujrat down to Kanyakumari traditional accounts credit Parshuram the great Bhargava hero, with reclaiming the land between ^{the} ghats and the Arabian sea, which was submerged from the ocean.² The tradition is current in Kolaba, Thana and Ratnagiri districts of Maharashtra also.³

It is undisputed that the temple of Parshuram existed near Chiplun long before the Swami came and settled down there. At present there are three images in the temple, ^{and} Kala, Kama/Parshurama. Kala is Shiva and Kama is Brahma. Parshuram is supposed to be the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. Thus the temple is of the trinity-Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha.⁴

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1. PBCL 323 - This is not corroborated by any other evidence.
 2. Kerala Studies Prof.A.K.Gopala Menon Commemoration Volume Trivendrum, 1955 pp.1-2.
 3. Chaphekar Chitpavan 1938 pp.1-12
 4. Ibid p.9

The temple of Parshuram near Chiplun is found mentioned in the life of Shivaji. He is said to have visited Chiplun in May 1673 when he had encamped there and had issued his well known proclamation to his soldiers, 'not to molest the ryot of the villages'.¹ At this time Shivaji visited the Parshuram temple and performed 'puja' of Parshuram along with Kala and Kama. He then gave alms to the Brahmins and satisfied them.² The poet Permananda is said to be a contemporary of Shivaji. Brahmendra Swami came to the woods of Dhamani near Parshuram sometime between 1680 and 1690. The news of Shivaji's visit to the shrine seems to have reached the Swami's ears also, Because we find him mentioning it in one of his letters.³ Ramchandrapant Amatya under Rajaram granted the village Pedhe to one Parsharambhat Narayanbhat Ganapule in 1698. Chaphekar had once remarked that "the name Parshuram was not current till 1764". This appears to be incorrect. Reference to Shivaji's visit has already been made above. Even between 1726 and 1733 the Siddis mentioned the name of Parshuram in their letters.⁴

In his childhood, it is said, the Swami practised a rigid penance before the Ganesha of Rajuri, a few miles

1. Sardesai - Shivaji Souvenir. 1927 pp.150-152.
2. Divekar - Kavindra Parmanandakrita Shivabharata 1927. 73-78
3. DCHM 20/893
4. PBC p.27; PBCL 240-253; Chaphekar Chitpavan p.10
Ganapule Kula Vritanta. Chap. III, 1

distant from his native place. He yearned therefore, in his later years to get that village as a grant from the Nizam.¹ Part of his huge fortune which he had amassed by begging, yearly grants from his disciples, donations and presents he utilised in public works.² Among these works were some new constructions and others were re-constructions of already existing old temples. Out of these temples, the temple of Wagheswar at Pimpri, the Bhuleshwar temple of Yawat, the temple in the fort of Poornagad and the Meruling temple near Dhavadshi were temples of Shiva.³

After his settlement at Parshuram near Chiplun, the Swami found that Parshuram was very popular in the Konkan. In order to win the hearts of the people he paid homage to this old deity and the tradition associated with it.

Through various means the Swami attempted to propagate the worship of Parshuram. Some of these are given below:-

i) The ancient temple of Parshuram was reconstructed in 1708.⁴ Works amounting to Rs. one lac were carried out at Parshuram which included temples

1. PBCL 259, 290, 351.
2. Ibid 312, PBC. pp. 18, 102.
3. Ibid 59. 133, 145.
4. R. III 1. DCHM 20/829

of Ganapati, Maruti, Datta and Renuka.¹ In the main temple a dome was built on the former audience hall. A door was provided between the first and the second domes. Trellis work was added to the door. A wooden hall was annexed and stone - flooring was provided in this hall. Six pillars of light grey stone were built in the compound of the temple. Rest houses, drum house (nagarkhana) and dining halls (bhandargriha) were the additions to the temple by the Swami.² Temples of Bhargavram i.e. Parshuram were built at Gothana and Dhavadshi. At Dhavadshi, the Swami installed the images of Kala, Kama and Parshuram in brass. The images were specially prepared for him by Sambaji Shinde, the commandant (havaldar) of the fort Rasalgad.³

(ii) The Swami made it a practice to write the name of Bhargavram at the beginning of all his letters. People writing to the Swami also adopted this practice.

1. PBC pp. 16, 103.

2. Dhore R.C. Bhargavram Shri Kshetra Parshuram, Sanskritik Maharashtra Darshanmala No.16, pp. 21-22.

3. PBC pp. 34-36.

(iii) As days passed by the Swami made the people believe that he was none but the incarnation of Parshuram.¹ Many times he addressed the ladies from the families of the Sardars as Renuka, the mother of Bhargavram. He always called Bajirao and Chimaji as the servants of Bhargavram and reminded all not to forget Him because whatever they achieved was through the benevolence of the Lord Bhargavram.²

To the Angre brothers he always told that the true Lord and King of Konkan was Bhargavram. "As long as," wrote the Swami, to Sambhaji Angre, "God Bhargavram is not properly attended nothing will prosper in the Konkan."³ To Nanasaheb Peshwa he once wrote, "trouble will cease to be for him whose affairs are guided by Bhargavram."⁴ He impressed upon Chimaji's mind that his triumphs were due to Bhargav's favours. He, however, did not fail to remind him that these triumphs would be of no avail as long as the Lord of the Konkan remained without worship. (i.e. remained in the bondage of the Siddis.). "Your greatest triumphs," he wrote, "will be the flourishing of Bhargavram."⁵

1. PBCL 261, 273, 281. SPD 33/446.

2. Ibid 270, 273, 275, 276.

3. Ibid 319.

4. PBC p.90

5. PBCL 283.

(iv) The Swami had even plans of imposing a tithe - Bharvavpatti or Parshurampatti on the Maratha country in the Konkan. He made this suggestion to Chimaji¹appa in 1739. We have no knowledge whether Chimaji paid any attention to this suggestion or what action he took in this respect.¹

It is thus seen that marking the importance of Bhargavram in the Konkan, the Swami fully took its advantage and endeared himself to the residents of Parshuram by his propagation of Parshuram worship.

Parshuram thus became the permanent abode of the Swami, where later on, he stayed for more than twenty-five years. During the disturbances in the years 1680-1690 Chiplun was almost desolated. The Mohammedans even attempted to desecrate the Parshuram temple.² Between the hill of Songaon, Dhamani, Parshuram and the township of Chiplun there is a creek of the river Vashisthi. The villages Dhamani and Pedhe on the outskirts of Chiplun were then under the rule of the Siddis. Ramchandrapant Amatya had appointed Mahadaji Ballal - whose surname cannot be traced - as

1. PBCL 146.

2. Joshi G.V. - Sri Kashetra Parshuram pp.2-3

Sarsubhedar. Mahadaji Ballal stayed at Kherdi, a few miles from Chiplun. Borders of the Maratha state and the Siddi's state touched each other near Chiplun. Mahadaji Ballal used to visit the shrine of Parshuram. He had granted some land for the upkeep of the shrine.¹ Mahadaji naturally had some skirmishes with the Siddis. The Kaji in charge of the village Dhamani was Siddi's officer with a band of hundred men under him. He had converted many Hindu women and was very vindictive.² The Swami had given this information in some of his letters as he had witnessed the rule of the Siddis at Dhamani and Parshuram.

9. His Revelation.

Upto now the Swami was not known to the public. He quietly sat in the thick wood of Dhamani and lived an ascetic's life. Remaining away from the people, he practised penance and incantations and paid homage at the shrine of Parshuram near by.

It is said, many a times in this jungle the Swami ate the leaves of Kadwai, a poisonous plant which brought

1. DKA p.364. An unpublished Bakhar quoted by G.V.Joshi in his book Shri Kshetra Parshuram Shake 1869 pp. 2-3.

2. The Swami to Tulaji Angre - PBCL 323.

instantaneous death to cattle if eaten by them.¹ A story goes that a cowherd named Balgauli one day discovered this holy man sitting in the forest of Dhamani. This Balgauli later became the Swami's devoted servant and he was entrusted with the work of looking after the Swami's cows and sometimes work as his messenger.² One day Balgauli observed that a very poisonous serpent had bitten the Swami. He thought that the Swami would die immediately, but a miracle happened, and the Swami escaped death. Balgauli observed the Sanyasin sitting at his usual place the next day.³ The story of the Swami's miracle spread like a wild fire among the superstitious public of those days; and people came to pay respects to the Swami. Among these visitors were Mahadaji Ballal, the Subhedar of Chiplun, and Balaji Vishvanath Bhat, the founder of the Peshwa's dynasty, then working as a clerk in the salt works at Chiplun.⁴

1. PBCL 276; DCHM 12/1051. The Swami appears to have been used to the eating of its slow and gradual dose every day.

2. R. III 66; DCHM 20/548.

3. SKBC p.3. Perhaps the habit of eating poisonous plants seems to have nullified the effect of serpent's poison.

4. DCHM 12/1051.

When Balaji Vishvanath permanently left Konkan along with his family and the family of Bhanus, he went via Parshuram and is said to have taken the Blessings of the Swami. The Swami foretold his rise to the highest position¹.

1. SKBC p. 4, Parasnis Bharatvarsha Khanda 2. 1897.

— नालाजी विश्वनाथ-देशमुख ने तोट केंद्र माने वलासकर
महाजन असे श्री भागवतरामाकृष्ण द्यावर यानयाचे उद्दीपने निधाते ॥

— नाना पडणीस यांच्या पुर्वजोंची होफेकाते.

Here Bhargavram need not necessarily be taken to mean Brahmendra Swami. The Bhats and the Bhanus might have visited the shrine of Parshuram while the Swami's meeting might have been a casual one if ever they had met. Neither the Peshwa's Bakhar, nor the Peshwa's Shakavali nor Chitnis' life of Shahu, tell that Balaji had taken the blessings of Bhargavram before starting his career on the Desha. The Swami's Bakhar makes a mention of it. As one of the MSS of the Bakhars was written in 1850 the mention of the Swami's meeting with Balaji appears to be an after thought.

CHAPTER III : THE SWAMI IN THE KONKAN.

- i) The Siddis.
- ii) The Angres.

CHAPTER III.THE SWAMI IN THE KONKAN.(ii) The Siddis.1. Early History of Janjira.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the island fortress of Janjira, 26 miles south of Bombay, had remained an eyesore and headache to the Marathas.

"This fortified island of Janjira lies just within the entrance of the Rajpuri creek, the main land being half a mile distant to the east and a mile to the west."¹ The rulers were converted Abyssians or Siddis as they were called; They were excellent seamen and sturdy warriors and though they did not make a name in trade, they soon attained eminence of Ahmednagar.² as a naval power under the Nizamshahi kingdom.² They had no king and their state was a form of oligarchy. They served in turn the Shahs of Ahmednagar and Bijapur and later the Mughal emperors. Their stronghold, however, was a constant source of irritation to the Marathas. Chhatrapati Shivaji and Sambhaji could not subdue it. The Siddis thus survived the great turmoil of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

1. Kolaba Gazetteer, p.462.

2. Banaji, Siddis of Janjira pp.1-5.

and the fall of Raigad in 1689 with the disintegration of the Maratha state following the death of Sambhaji considerably strengthened the hands of the Siddis, who occasionally became bold enough to lead raids up the ghats. They not only recovered their former districts wrested from them by Shivaji, but in addition they took possession of the important fortresses of Raigad, Mandangad and Anjanwel. They helped Matabar Khan, the Mughal general, and seized the two important ports of Rewas and Thal which enabled them to dominate Maratha shipping in the Pen river and at Kolaba.¹ Siddi Kasim was at this time the chief of the Siddis and Siddi Surur was one of his officers at Underi (1696-1707). It is with these Siddis that the career of Kanhoji Angre and the early exploits of Balaji Vishwanath and Brahmendra Swami are connected.

The Siddis appear to have ravaged Maratha territory at the end of the 17th century and villages were depopulated on account of their devastations. The Siddis also took the fort of Kasa (also known as Padmadurg) and presented its golden key to the emperor and Suvarnadurga was taken by assault in 1713.²

1. DPB I pp.41-47

2. SMR CSPBV pp. 104-105.

2. Konkan at the end of seventeenth century.

At the end of Shivaji's reign, the Portuguese held Daman, Bassein the island of Salsette and portions of the main-land opposite Bombay up to Chaul in the north and the settlement of Goa in the south. The English had factories in Surat and Bombay. Further south, were the Siddis of Janjira, the Sawant of Wadi² and the Dutch. While the English and the dutch contented themselves with trade and commerce and clung to their factory stations, the Siddis with the Portuguese held considerable landed territory and were locked over a long period in struggle with the Marathas.²

Throughout his reign shivaji directed his energies towards reducing the island fortress of Janjira and checking his troublesome neighbours, but for want of efficient artillery and a strong navy failed to make any impression on the place.³ Between 1636 to 1670 the Siddi owed no allegiance to any land power and was semi-independent. About 1670, when the Siddi was in great distress, he transferred

1. The rulers of Sawantwadi State.
2. DPB I. pp.43-44.
3. SPS 1314-1420.

his allegiance to the Mughal emperor and thus secured his powerful assistance in his struggle with the Marathas.¹ In 1672, the Siddis are referred to as the Admirals of the Mughal.² After Shivaji's death the Mughals descended in the Konkan in 1682-1683. Kalyan fell in 1689 and Mathar Khan a very able Mughal general, conquered north Konkan.³ Aurangzeb's concern with the western coast before the Maratha war was mainly in connection with the pilgrimage to Mecca by sea. He had granted some territory in north Konkan to the Siddis.⁴

3. The war of independence and rule of Queen Tarabai.

To understand the situation in the Konkan at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to have a cursory survey of political events in Maharashtra in the last decade of the seventeenth century.

After the death of Shivaji in 1680, emperor Aurangzeb came to the south with a grand army with the firm determination to subjugate the formidable Marathas. Chhatrapati

1. Khafi Khan p.290

2. SPS Op.cit. 1512

3. SGHA pp.352-353.

4. Nairne - Konkan p.77

Sambhaji, the successor of Shivaji, was captured at - Sangameshwar in the Konkan, in 1689 and put to a very cruel death near Koregaon along with Kavi Kalash.¹ The Maratha ministers then crowned Sambhaji's brother, Rajaram, at Raigad as Sambhaji's son, Shahu, was at the time too young to be the head of a state engaged in a life and death struggle with an enemy like Aurangzeb.² The imperial army under Itigad Khan laid siege to Raigad , but Rajaram escaped in the guise of a yogi and managed to reach the fortress of Jinji in the south through the state of Bednur. Raigad fell the same year after a long struggle and the imperial army succeeded in making Shivaji's surviving widows,Sambhaji's and Rajaram's wives, daughters and sons,including Shahu, a boy of seven prisoners of war. Thus by the end of 1689, Aurangzeb had annexed to his empire the dominions of Adil Shah, Kutb Shah and Chhatrapati Sambhaji and was now, the unchallenged lord paramount of the Deccan. This was,however, unfortunately the beginning of his end as the seeds of failure were sown in this victory.³

In 1690, Jinji became the centre of Maratha enterprise on the east coast, while their ministers, Shankraji Narayan

1. SSHA pp. 310-311.

2. Ibid p. 312

3. Ibid p. 313

and Ramchandra Pant Amatya who were left at home, organised resistance to the Mughals in the west. Every Maratha captain raided a different area and as the Mughal forces could not cope with these guerilla attacks, they suffered reverses. Maratha captains like Dhanaji and Santaji who were harassing the imperial armies, even went to the extent of capturing Mughal generals and loot their camps. Rustam Khan, for instance, was captured by Santaji. Jinji was twice besieged by the Mughals and at last fell in 1698 when Rajaram fled to Maharashtra, where he was chased by the imperial army¹ and ultimately died in harness in 1700 at Sinhgad. Because of the untimely and premature death of Rajaram's natural son Karna, Ramchandrapant Amatya placed Shivaji, his son on the throne. Rajaram's widow Tarabai on account of her ability and energy, soon became the supreme power and guiding force of the Marathas. She appointed and changed generals and planned raids into Mughal territory and managed the cultivation of the country.² Kanhoji Angre, who had shown his ability, was appointed by her in 1703 as Admiral of the naval force.³ She continued to prosecute the war against the imperial army with the same vigour as her husband.

1. SSHA p.349

2. Ibid XVI p.356
P

3. SMR CSBV p.90
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4. The return of Shahu & the Battle of Khed.

Emperor Aurangzeb died at Ahmednagar on 20th Feb. 1707.¹ Shahu was released in May by Azam Shah.² Bahadurshah became emperor after killing Azam Shah and Kam Bax in 1709.³ Shahu's return to the Deccan ^{gave} rise to a civil war in the Maratha state because Tarabai was not prepared to yield the throne to Shahu.

On the return of Shahu to Maharashtra, many Maratha sardars joined him, prominent among them being Chimnaji Damodar (Moghe), Parsoji Bhonsle, Malhar Tukadeo Purandare and Amritrao Kadambade⁴. Balaji Vishwanath already knew Shahu and his mother. He with Khande Ballal Chitnis persuaded his master Dhanaji Jadhav to espouse the cause of Shahu. A battle was fought at Khed on 12th October 1707 which turned the scales in Shahu's favour.⁵ On his coronation in 1708, Shahu conferred on Balaji the title of Senakarte (maker of armies) showing the high estimation in which he was held by his royal master. After Dhanaji's death, Shahu supported Balaji in a dispute between Balaji and Dhanaji's son Chandrasen.⁶

1. SSHA XVI p.383

2. SMR CSBV p.22

3. SNHM^{II}/p.12

4. Chitnis Shahu Charitra p.231

5. Op.cit. Chap.1 p.15.

6. Chitnis Shahu Charitra.

The fortunes of Shahu reached their lowest ebb in 1712. He was abandoned by his Senapati, his Sarlashkar was disaffected with him, Kanhoji Angre threatened to march on Satara and his supporter Zulfiqar Khan, was no more.¹ In this critical hour he was saved by the genius of his ^{in the attempt} Senakarte, though Balaji himself once became a prisoner of Damaji Thorat.² Raising a fresh army, Balaji Vishwanath defeated Chandrasen, fought the minor rebels and to cripple ^{of} the power Tarabai, fomented a revolution in the Kolhapur camp.

As Balaji stood by his master during these hardships, he won his favour. It now became imperative for Shahu to win the Maratha admiral Kanhoji Angre to his side. Kanhoji did not seem to be unfriendly to Shahu even as far back as 1709.³ The former realised that without the Maratha State behind him, it would be impossible for him to deal with the Portuguese and the Siddis. Balaji conciliated Kanhoji by explaining this situation to him. Kanhoji was left in possession of his conquests in the Konkan, and the result was the treaty between Kanhoji and Shahu in February 1714.⁴

1. DPB I p.3

2. SMR CSPBV pp. 72-79

3. Ibid p. 92

4. SNHM II P.10|R.III Pr. p. 152. MPT p.197.

Before this treaty, Balaji was made Peshwa by Shahu in 1713 as he had proved himself to be a very able servant of the throne. Balaji held that post till his death in 1720.

5. The Swami's acquaintance with the Siddis.

Legend goes that the Swami used to cross the creek near Chiplun upon a banana leaf in the middle of night¹ for a visit to the shrine of Parshuram from Chiplun. It is said that the miracle was demonstrated to Siddi Surur who, impressed by it, became the Swami's friend. Be that as it may, the Swami developed a friendship with this Siddi who later on in 1707 became the Chief Siddi of Janjira. It is said that during this period the Swami saved Bapuji Bhonsle, the grandfather of Raghaji Bhonsle, from the hands of the Siddis and also secured from them through - Balaji Vishwanath the release of Raghaji's uncle, Santaji Bhonsle, who later died at Delhi in 1719.²

The Swami appears to have taken the entire credit for these events for himself though the successors of

1. SKBC p.6 ; See the photograph of the creek. The miracle mentioned by the bakhar alone cannot be believed.

2. PBCL 295.

Ramaji Ganesh Kolhatkar have written in their Kaifiyat that Bapuji and Santaji Bhonsle were saved by Ramaji Ganesh.¹

Siddi Surur Yakutkhan succeeded Siddi Kasim in 1707. His accession, according to the Swami, was due to his blessings.² The Swami secured the grants of the villages Pedhe and Ambdas from Siddi Surur in 1708-1709.³ Exchange of gifts and letters continued between the Swami and the Siddi through Sambhaji Shinde, the commandant of the fort of Rasalgad.⁴

Brahmendra Swami had connections with the Siddis in several ways. His temple of Parshuram was in the Siddi's territory. He had his vatan villages and friends in Konkan. His treasury and stock was at Rasalgad. He had, moreover, intense affinity for Konkan because of his stay there of many years.⁵ Siddi Sad a very able captain of the Chief Siddi commanded the important forts of Govalkot and Anjanwel. As the Swami's villages came under his

1. SAP L. 434

2. PBC p. 25

3. Ibid pp.11-14

4. DCHM 20/527, 532.

5. PBCL 317, 319, 283.

jurisdiction he had to correspond with the Swami. Even for some years after coming to Dhavadshi the Swami continued his practice of visiting the shrine of Parshuram in the month of Shravana. Upto the beginning of the Janjira war in 1733, though the Swami had settled down at Dhavadshi, he had not totally severed his connections with Siddi Sad and the other Siddi officials.

Siddi Sad being a Mohammedan, was rather intolerant of the Hindus like the Muslims of those days. His intolerance, however, was less towards the Swami because of his social position. But elsewhere we find several references in the records of those times of the injustice of the Siddis towards the Hindus. 'The Habsi (as the Siddis were also called) has created a havoc', says one writer.¹ The other wrote to Bajirao Peshwa that 'the Hindu religion in the Konkan was in danger' and implored Bajirao to save it.² Some villages were deserted and in some villages the populace rose en masse against the tyranny of the rulers. In November 1733 the villagers of Parshuram applied to Bajirao Peshwa and requested him to capture Anjanwel and Govalkot and offered to pay - Rs. 1 lac.³ The Swami too knew fully well that the Siddi

1. SPD 33/95.

2. Ibid 16/16

3. PPD 1/108.

was treacherous and unreliable. He had once warned Sambhaji Angre not to rely on the Siddi.¹ There were constant instances of oppression by the petty officers of the Siddis and the Swami pointed out to the officers concerned such occurrences in his vatan villages.

Siddi Surur alias Yakutkhan, unlike Siddi Sad was a tolerant man and appeared to be a friend of the Swami. The Siddi's chief commander, Siddi Sad, however, was less tolerant and seemed to resent the Swami's religious activities in a Muslim kingdom. Siddi Sad, moreover, had never reconciled himself to the treaty of friendship with Angre which had been forced upon them, as he considered, by Balaji Vishwanath in 1714 by which treaty the Siddi had lost a sizable slice of territory to Angre. Siddi Sad commanded the fort Anjanwel which gave him a control over the township of Parshuram and he seldom lost an opportunity of harassing the inhabitants of Parshuram. Personally he did not hate the Swami and seemed to be friendly, though not very intimate with him. In the correspondence of the Siddis that is available to us, a majority of the letters are found to have been written by Siddi Sad. He paid due attention to the Swami's complaints and made sincere attempts to remove the Swami's grievances.

1. PBCL 310.

Because the Swami once addressed Siddi Sad as a demon (daitya) after his death, some historians have misrepresented the Siddi to be so, but personally he behaved with due respect and courtesy with the Swami.

Correspondence and gifts were exchanged between the Siddis and the Swami even during the war. Whenever the Siddi needed stone cutters or some tools and instruments, he used to get them from the Swami.¹ The Swami many times sent baskets of grapes and pomegranates to Siddi Sad.²

The Swami wrote to Siddi Sad from Dhavadshi in 1729, " If a golden salver is presented, will it look fair if its ~~xxxxxxxx~~^{edge} is broken?" The Swami used to write in such ambiguous terms which the Siddi resented. He asked the Swami what that golden salver was and who broke its ~~xxxxxxxx~~^{edge} and continued, "before proceeding to your journey you came here and solicited our patronage. Our mind then was clean about you. Why are you then writing to us in this manner? Please write letters of good wishes or ~~xx~~ on strict business. It is unwise to write such threats to us. You may write letters of this type where they are tolerated. Please do not write them to us."³

1. PBC p. 30, PBCL 253.

2. DCHM 20/1233, 766, 768.

3. 27-6-1729. DCHM 20/762.

6. Reconstruction of the temple of Parshuram.

In 1708 the Swami began the reconstruction of the old temple of Parshuram near Chiplun.¹ By about 1710 , the Swami came in contact with Kanhoji Angre and gradually developed a warm friend^{ship} with him.²

7. His yearly routine.

The yearly routine of the Swami at Parshuram now became almost constitutional. During the month of Shravana, he went into Samadhi and after about three weeks, on the fourth day of the moon in the month of Bhadrapada, he would come out of the Samadhi. This day of his coming out - the festival of Ganapati or Ganesh Chaturthi - was celebrated with pomp and elaborate ceremonial. The custom had grown that on this day the Commanders from the surrounding forts of the Siddis and Angres came to greet the Swami's annual

1. Besides Rajwade's yadi in his volume III, No.1, one yadi in Modi was found in the collection of the Deccan College. The date Shake 1629 in this yadi differed from the date of Rajwade's yadi Shake 1627. The former date seems probable because Siddi Surur, the Swami's friend came to power in 1707. The Swami secured the grant of the two villages in 1708 and then he started the work of reconstruction. DCHM 20/829

2. PBC pp. 11-14.

'coming out'. The festival after the Samadhi was always managed by the Angres.¹

items of

Fireworks was one of the/celebration and the Swami was greeted with suitable gifts to secure his blessings. Although, on this occasion, there was a large gathering of troops belonging to the two opposite camps, there were no incidents.²

8. His grand tours.

After the festivities, the Swami would set out on a round of visits to all his wealthier disciples to collect donations for his religious and other public activities. He travelled with a large retinue which - included Dadaji Gurav, the blower of the horn (Karnekari). Antaji Narayan Bhagwat, the clerk, and Khandoji Salvi, the ensign of the God Ganapati.³

Between 1700 and 1710, the Swami toured in the south almost every year and went as far as Goa and Sawantwadi where he made several friends. The Thakur family of

1. R.III 306.

2. PBC p.19, PECL 251.

3. Ibid p. 20.

Sawantwadi, and Sadashiva and Bhavanidas, the merchants of Goa, thus became friendly with him.¹ It was during these tours that by about 1710 the Swami contracted friendship with Kanhoji Angre at Suvarnadurg.²

In November 1718, Balaji Vishwanath departed for Delhi on a very important mission to bring back the queen mother Yesubai, and the celebrated Sanads of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi to Maharashtra. The Swami blessed Balaji Vishwanath before his departure.³ Though the Swami left Konkan for good in 1728, he had secured the villages ^{as Inam} Dhavadshi, Anewadi and Viramade in 1720-21⁴ from the Chhatrapati.

90. Contact with the Pratinishi & the Chhatrapati.

Viroobai, Chhatrapati Shahu's mistress, was a religious and pious lady. She had immense influence over the Chhatrapati.⁵ She had been to the Konkan in 1715 along with Basvantrao Khoje for performing sea bathing religious rites. While returning, she went to Parshuram

1. PBCL 123, 373.

2. R.III 340.

3. ^{SMR CSPB} ~~XXXV. 99999~~ p. 240 DCHM 12/1049

4. PBC p.16, R.III Fr.p.158, R.III .28,128.

5. SMR CSPB p.435.

and paid a visit to the Swami¹ and this association increased through occasional visits and correspondence. The Swami in the meantime had come in contact with the Pratinidhi family by about 1715 and between 1715 and 1718 half the revenue of the villages Dorle and Mahalunge was granted to the Swami by the Pratinidhi.² The village of Pimpri was bestowed on the Swami by Balaji Vishwanath in 1719.³

10. The Swami turns a Money-lender.

The revenue of so many villages, the presents received every year on Ganesh Chaturthi, the supply of articles of daily need, donations and 'bhiksha' increased day by day the Swami's wealth/by day. The Swami, being an intensely shrewd and practical man, now thought of investing this money. Economic depression was the bane of the Maratha state. Right from the Chhatrapati to the lowest rank of Maratha sardars, everybody was always hard up.

1. BMOR-I pp.121-122. The dates and contents of this Bakhar seem to be surprisingly correct.

2. PBC p.14. The date given by the Bakhar in the Kavyeti-hasangraha appears to be more correct than the date (1720) given by the Satara Gazetteer. See also the footnote PBC. p.14.

3. R. III xxvxxv SPD 7/33-34. Rajwade's date 1716 is incorrect. cf Appendix B.

The Swami shrewdly noted this weakness of the Maratha nobility and their permanent embarrassment became his opportunity. The Swami's contact became doubly necessary for every nobleman in the Maratha state, first as a guru for giving blessings and secondly as a banker for advancing loans. Thus began an important phase in the Swami's life usury. Kanhoji Angre had to maintain a navy and had always to fight with his hostile neighbours the Firangis (Portuguese) and the Siddis. He was, therefore, always in need of money and in due course the loans from the Swami amounted to nearly Rs.1,25,000/-.¹

A similar sum was advanced by the Swami to Balaji Vishwanath in 1719.² Out of this, Bajirao returned 41 mohors to the Swami in 1719.³

11. The Elephant episode.

The enmity between the Angres and the Siddis resulted in an incident which had far reaching effects upon the career of the Swami in the Konkan. This incident took place in 1727. The Muslim Raja of Savnur* who was a

1. R.III 355.

2. PBCL 114 Footnote.

3. Ibid.

* Savnur lies some 400 miles to the South of Govalkot.

a friend of the Siddi, had presented an elephant to Siddi Sad at the beginning of the year 1726. It was, however, quite a difficult task to bring that elephant to Govalkot because en route there were various states which were perpetually at war amongst themselves. There was a - checkpoint every few miles along the highways and no traffic was permitted except with the dastak (permission) of an accepted power. Siddi Sad, therefore, approached the Swami and requested him to send the dastaks from the Peshwa and the Pratinidhi. The Swami, however, replied that he had already arranged to go to Savnur side and he needed no dastaks as all the chiefs knew him. The Siddi then sent ten pathans with the Swami as an escort. The Pratinidhi had granted permission to the Swami for the passing of the elephant through his state.¹ The Swami brought the elephant at the end of the year 1726 and descending the ghats, he sent the elephant ahead as he had to perform some religious rites.

When the elephant was obstructed by the Vishalgadkar, the Swami sent a letter to him and the elephant was then permitted to pass.² When the Swami's party entered Konkan

1. PBC. p.19

2. Ibid p.20

(Ratnagiri District), there was one check post at Makhjan beyond Sangmeshwar on the frontier between the states of the Siddi and Angre. Here Angre's guards stopped the elephant and refused to permit it to be taken into the Siddi's territory without a dastak. The guards perhaps would not have dared to ask for a dastak had the Swami been with the elephant. A dispute now ensued at Makhjan check post, between the Siddi's men and the guards and when some of the Siddi's soldiers from a nearby garrison came to take the elephant away by force, Angre's men secured help from Jaygad and carried away the elephant to the fort. When the Swami reached Makhjan, he sent a message to the officer in charge of Jayagad fort. Before, however, the elephant could be returned, news was conveyed to Siddi Sad that Brahmendra Swami had deliberately allowed this to happen and having brought the elephant all the way from Savnur, he had made a present of it to Kanhoji Angre.¹

12. Siddi's vandalism at Parshuram.

When the news about the elephant reached Siddi Sad he was very much enraged and in a fit of temper he marched upon the temple of Parshuram on the Mahashivaratra day on 8th February 1727. It was a festival day of pilgrimage and as usual pilgrims from far and near had gathered at Parshuram.* The offices and houses of the clerks were

1. SKBC pp.14-15.

* There is one Shivlinga in the temple of Parshuram.

looted by the Siddi's men, the idols were desecrated and Chimnajipant Bhagwat, Bapujipant Tambe and Lakhmaji Kothavala the Swami's men were beaten to extort money. In this raid on Parshuram, some Hindu residents of Parshuram also seem to have helped the Siddi.¹ The loot from Parshuram included nagaras (drums), 2 jambures (guns), a bell, a big door frame, utensils,² and grain, all of the total value of 12000 rupees.³

In a letter to Kanhoji Angre, the Swami wrote that the elephant episode had cost him nearly 25000 rupees.⁴ This vandalism of Siddi Sad was immediately reported to his superior, Siddi Yakutkhan. Siddi Yakut remonstrated with Siddi Sad, apologised to the Swami for this misbehaviour and returned the loot taken from Parshuram. The Khan requested the Swami to come and see him personally and even offered two more villages as a grant.⁵ It does not appear that the Siddi returned all the things that were looted because the Swami reminded Chimaji Appa and Tulaji Angre about certain articles that had not been received back.⁶ Three medallions studded with precious stones,

1. PBCL 286. The Swami has mentioned the name of Nilo Patki Chiplunkar.

2. Ibid 323.

3. PBC pp.25-26

4. R.III 179.

5. PBC loc.cit.

6. c.f. PBCL 286 and 323.

which the Swami had made for the adornment of the temple gods on festive occasions had been looted at the time of raid. The Swami believed that ~~they~~^{as} they had been touched by the Yawana, they were not fit for the gods . The medallions, which were worth about 25,000 rupees, were therefore, presented to Siddi Yakut and his son as a personal gift.¹

The Swami, however, was very grieved over the desecration of the temple and pronounced a curse² "You have ravaged sacred idols and ~~KILLED MEN OF RELIGION.~~^{upon the Siddi} Brahmins. You will yourself be subjected to the fate".²

13. Siddi's Harassment at Parshuram.

Siddi Sad now created/trouble for the Swami and the Brahmins at Parshuram getting frightened began leaving Parshuram gradually together with the Swami. Siddi Sad consoled the Brahmins who remained at Parshuram not to worry over the departure of the Swami as he being a gosavi could go anywhere he liked.³ Bapu Joshi, one of the

1. PBC p.22

2. SKBC p.16 - The curse is mentioned by the Bakhar only.

Parasnisi had taken the support of the Bakhar.

3. Op.cit. p.27

Swami's dependents, looked after the Swami's farms at Parshuram in his absence. Siddi Sad encouraged one Hussain Mulana to foment trouble with Bapu Joshi. Bapu Joshi was fined rupees ten for cultivating lands belonging to the mosque looked after by Hussain Mulana who kept on troubling the Swami right up to 1732 when the Swami seems to have complained to Siddi Sad.

Bapu Joshi was called to Anjanwel by the Siddi and ^{deed} was asked to give kutba (~~खानकाह~~) for Rs.400. When Bapu Joshi returned the Siddi was going to raid the village Pedhe, but the raid was not carried out. Venkaji Bhaskar reported that the Mulana had grown strong and arrogant and had secured warrants for exacting money from persons in the town and that if Mahadaji Ballal had been in the Konkan, it would have been good. The Mulana was going to take Venkaji Bhaskar to the Subha place, Anjanwel.¹

14. The stone cutters.

The friendship with Siddi Yakut did not prove of much use to the Swami. Siddi Yakut needed some cutters of stone in 1726. The Swami got them through Bajirao, but as the Siddi attempted to detain them by force, they ran away. In August 1927, Siddi Yakut again requested ~~the~~

1. DCHM 12/396.

the Swami to send some 40 to 50 hewers and cutters as he wanted to build a dome. One Malharji Patharvat was sent by the Swami to Rajapuri with a party. They took advances from the Siddi and after working for a fortnight, they kept on writing to the Swami to call them back. Their relations at Satara threatened the Swami to report the matter to the Chhatrapati if Malharji and his party did not return safe.

The Swami ^{was} ¹ at his wit's end because Siddi Sad threatened the Swami for complaining every now and then against him to his superiors at Rajapuri. He also demanded that Bapu Joshi, one of the Swami's dependants, should pay a fine of Rs.400 as indemnity and if he was unable to do so, the Swami should pay instead. The Swami was asked to come and see Siddi Sad personally at Anjanwel, but the Swami did not go for fear of being insulted. By that time, only ten houses of Brahmins remained at Parshuram as the people began to evacuate the place. The Mulana was given the Khoti of Parshuram by Siddi Sad who exacted forced labour from the inhabitants there. The Swami reported all these matters to Bajirao and sought his advice,² when he was asked to come up the ghats.

1. PBC pp. 29-31.

2. Ibid pp. 29-30.

15. The Swami leaves the Konkan.

The Swami now thought it expedient to leave Konkan for good. When Kanhoji Angre learnt about the decision of the Swami, he felt grieved and to prevent him from leaving, he was put on an oath.¹ The Swami being rather superstitious did not leave Konkan/and his stay prolonged for a more² year But he began to wind up his establishment at Parshuram. He sent his clerks and servants to Dhavadashi and kept Ganesh Ballal Tambe to look after his affairs at Parshuram. All the valuables, ornaments, utensils, cash and other articles were removed to Rasalgad, 20 miles north of Parshuram, and kept in the custody of Sambhaji Shinde, the Subhedar in charge of the fort. Rasalgad continued for many years to be the Swami's deposit place for his valuables. The Killedar looked after the villages of Gothana and Parshuram, collected revenue from them and exchanged the Swami's messages with the Siddis and Angres.³

Seeing the plight of the Swami, Kanhoji Angre removed the ban imposed on the Swami by his oath and

1. R.III 180.

2. PBC p.27

3. Ibid p.31

expressed the hope that the Swami would return soon to the Konkan after doing good to the people on the Desha.¹

In 1728 the Swami thus finally left Konkan for good. He went to Gothana and ~~xxxx~~ had a final meeting with Kanhoji Angre. He reminded him about the big loan outstanding against him and suggested the grant of the village of Gothana as compensation for the losses he had incurred at Parshuram. Kanhoji granted him the village and issued orders accordingly to Pratapji Kolgude.² The Swami also took letters of introduction from Kanhoji Angre to Kanhoji Bhonsle and Narayan Bhat.³

16. Remote causes of the war.

The treaty between Kanhoji Angre and Chhatrapati Shahu concluded in February 1714 had two important clauses

- i) that Konkan was to be exclusive sphere of Angre's operations and
- ii) that Angre should hold in check the Siddis and the Portuguese.⁴

1. R.III 180.

2. DCHM 20/1213

3. PRC p.33

4. M P T p.197

The relations between the Siddis and Angres remained peaceful for about ten years.

Kanhoji's activity in the Konkan now was connected with the Sanads of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi brought by Balaji Vishwanath from Delhi in 1718 from the Sayyads. - According to the Sanad, though Shahu's right to Swaraj (the conquests of his grandfather) was recognised, he was not actually given possession of all the territories - comprising it. It was left him to recover them from local Mughal officials some of whom especially in the outlying provinces, had dug themselves in and refused to surrender without a struggle. The Siddi was a Mughal officer. - Though Kanhoji had successfully held his own against the Siddi, he was unable single-handed to wrest the Swaraj territory from his grasp.¹ At the end of Kanhoji's life, Siddi Sad began to nibble^{at} Kanhoji's territory. The former's vandalism at Parshuram, moreover, had made it necessary to punish him without delay. Kanhoji informed Shahu that as the latter could not send any succour to him for punishing the Siddi, he might as well be relieved of his responsibility by sending another man to take his place.² Kanhoji even went and interviewed the king on Dassera day in 1727, but Shahu's generals were engaged -

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1. DPB p.48

2. SMR CSPBV p.214

elsewhere and the Siddi, therefore, continued his depredations in Kanhoji's territory for some time more.

17. Differences between the Swami and the Siddi.

We may now examine the nature of the differences between the Swami and Siddi Sad up to the beginning of the Janjira war in 1733. Most of the Swami's complaints were about the troubles created by Siddi's men in his vatan villages of Pedhe, Ambdas, Dorle and Mahalunge. Pedhe and Ambdas were secured by the Swami in 1708 from the Siddi. Half the revenue of Dorle and Mahalunge was granted to the Swami by the Pratinidhi sometime between 1715 and 1718.¹ In 1727 the Siddi granted the village of Nagysi tarf Savarde. The Swami did not receive the revenue of the village for 1727. This was brought to the notice of Siddi Sad who was requested to hand over the village to the Swami. The Siddi wrote back that the revenue which had been paid into the treasury could not be returned and asked the Swami whether the village was in his possession at that time or not. Upon this the Swami wrote that he was formerly offered the village Kalambusi but anyhow the actual grant was delayed. He

1. PBC p. 14

further added that his villages Dorle and Mahalunge were disturbed by Siddi's people.^{1,2} Every year the Swami had to pay Rs.42/- as a tribute or tax imposed on those villages. The Swami had paid the yearly instalment for 1728 at Anjanwel. The Siddi's officers were again demanding the amount from the Swami. The Swami, therefore, suggested to the Siddis that if the instalment of Rs.42/- would be waived and the villages thereafter were not troubled, he would be satisfied and would not ask for the village of Kalambusi. The Swami's request was granted and Siddi Sad wrote to the Subha (Capital Anjanwel) not to molest the Swami's villages.³ Once though the Swami's men had paid the amount in the treasury at Anjanwel, the Siddi's men again collected the amount from the villages of Dorle and Mahalunge. On this being brought to the notice of Siddi Sad, he returned the extra amount that was collected.⁴ In March 1731, the Siddi's men imposed on the same villages the payment for cocoanut branches, ropes and oil. When the ^{Sad} Swami grumbled, Siddi ^{Sad} expressed regret and promised that there would be no repetition of the trouble.⁵

²
1, PBCL 253

3. Ibid 253. dt. 1728.

4. Ibid 247. dt. 1731.

5. DCHM 20/1233 dt. 1731.

The villages of Dorle and Mahalunge were always subject to ravages by the adjoining states of the - and Pratinidhis of Vishalgad/the Siddis. The villagers being fed up, ~~they~~ abandoned the villages in 1733. The Swami asked Siddi Sad to give an assurance of safety (kaul) to the villagers. This was granted and Siddi Sad expressed the wish that the Swami might see him when he would come to Konkan.¹

18. Wethbigari.

The imposition of forced labour (wethbigari) , specially in enemy's villages, was a common occurrence at the time. Angre's fort of Rasalgad was on the border of Siddi's territory and naturally the fort had connections with the villages nearby. The Siddi's men kept a watch on the fort. Once the news of 15 wethas required by Sambhaji Shinde, the commandant of Rasalgad being sent to the Swami, leaked out and reached Siddi Sad, who warned the commandant. Sambhaji, in his letter to the Swami promised to find out the culprit who gave the news to Siddi Sad.²

1. PBCL 248

2. DCHM 20/542.

It is interesting to note that even mangoes and jack fruit were taken by force by Siddi's men. The killedar of Jayagad once informed the Swami that out of 800 mangoes that were available at Naysi, half were taken away by the Shamal (Siddi).¹

19. Overtures for peace.

The Janjira campaign started in May 1733. Even then the Siddis do not seem to have broken their connection and correspondence with the Swami. Messengers and agents passed to and fro between them.

The Swami was in need of buffalo skins for repairing the drums (nagaras) which were offered to the shrine by one devotee nobleman. He, therefore, wrote to the Siddi to supply him the skins. The Siddi asked the Swami to send the drums to him as the skins would get dry in transit.² This illustrates that the Swami's relations with the Sidi were not stained to reach the stage of hostility on the eve of war.

During the war, when Anjanwel was besieged in 1734-35, Siddi Sad made an offer to the Swami that if the siege was raised, he would grant twelve villages to the Swami

1. DCHM 20/677

2. Ibid 20/762

and would look after Parshuram.¹ While these negotiations for peace were being discussed by Yeshwantrao Potnis and Jivba Chitnavis with the envoy of the Siddi, they promised to consult the Swami before sending a reply to the Siddi. The envoy also agreed.²

20. The Swami's cattle.

The Swami used to keep his cattle at Ambdas and Tisangi. During the war Siddi's men once raided the village Tisangi and carried away 111 heads of livestock belonging to the Swami. When the Swami lodged a complaint to Siddi Sad, he sent the following reply:-

"There is no possibility of your cattle being looted. We raided the Biwali pass and had taken away Angre's cattle. It was found that most of the cows and buffaloes originally were our property carried away by Bakaji Mahadik last year. Your cattle were not at Tisangi. Even after bringing the cattle, we made enquiries from Angre's people and came to know that your cows were not there. Had your cattle been taken away by us wrongly we would gladly have returned them to you."³ -

1. PBC p.26

2. PBCL 354. Letter on PBC p.26 is the reply of the Swami to this letter.

3. 1731-33; Ibid .246.

The Swami's cattle seem, however, definitely to have been taken away by the Siddi. In a letter to Manaji Angre the Swami has stated that Siddi Sad had taken away 250 cattle belonging to him.¹

21. Villages were troubled by the Marathas also.

It must be noted here that the Swami's villages, both in the Konkan and on the Desha, were not troubled by Siddi's men alone. Antaji Shivdeo exacted money from the villages of Dorle and Mahalunge.² The Havaldar of Poornagad also harassed the Swami's villages. He was removed from his office by Sekhoji Angre under the Swami's instructions.³ The Pratinidhis of Vishalgad too, troubled the Swami's villages many times.⁴

22. Pedhe: Jayaram Simpi's case.

At Pedhe and Ambadas there were many such cases. One Jayaram, tailor from Pedhe, was forced by another tailor from Govalkot into matrimonial relations. The Swami got the tailor from Govalkot warned by Siddi Sad. Similarly, Parashamali had settled his daughter's marriage

1. DCHM 20/929.

2. 1733. R.III 269.

3. 1732. Ibid 244.

4. 1733. PBCL 248.

with Lakhmali from Chiplun. When the marriage was about to take place, Jivamali from Anjanwel brought pressure on Parashamali and created a disturbance. Siddi Sad severely reprimanded Jiva Mali at the Swami's request.¹ The Swami resented the meddling of the Siddi's instigated agents in his village affairs.

23. Kidnapping at Ambdas.

The Swami's servant, Dhondji Ganesh, at Ambdas died. His wife was kidnapped and forcibly married to Saya Bokri from Govalkot. Similarly, the Swami's servant, Lakha Mohita, a farmer at Pedhe, was forcibly kidnapped by Fajil Muhammad from Govalkot. Due to these incidents, the villagers of Pedhe and Ambdas fled in consternation. The sowing season and harvest time were drawing near and as the villages were deserted, the Swami wrote to Siddi Sad from Dhavadshi requesting him to release Lakha Mohita stating that when the Siddi had several servants, he should not take away a fakir's (mendicant) servant from him.² We have no knowledge whether the Swami's request was complied with by the Siddi.

24. Ambdas: The oilman's case.

The Balutedars are the backbone of the village.

1. 1730. DCHM 20/765.

2. 1730.33. Ibid 20/766.

The loss of even one of them disturbed the routine of the village. The ryots of the villages Ambdas and Pedhe had fled away due to the tyranny of the Siddis. The teli (oilman) of Ambdas absconded. The teli from Pedhe was converted by the Siddi's men, but he secretly continued his worship of Hindu deities. He was, therefore, fined and the Siddi's men forced him to pay Rs.15/-, the amount of the fine. The Swami requested Siddi Sad to give the "kaul" (assurance of safety) to the teli of Ambdas and to the inhabitants of both the villages. Siddi Sad granted the Swami's request and about the converted teli of Ambdas he wrote, " The Holy Book (Kuran) prescribes having a severe punishment for one who embraces Islam ~~xx~~ - continues the worship of images. As a result of your request, I am pardoning him the sum of Rs.15/-.¹ Thus we find that the Siddis attitude was conciliatory ~~xx~~^{towards} / the Swami.

25. Permits for bullocks from the Siddi.

Corn and goods then were carried from place to place on bullocks' backs. The Swami needed the Siddi's co-operation for the passage of goods. The Siddi, it seems, had granted a permit for 50 bullocks to the Swami.²

1. 20.4.1736. PBCL 245.

2. Ibid 282.

In a letter to Chimaji Appa, the Swami writes that the Siddi had granted him a permit for 500 bullocks.¹ The killedar of Rasalgad seems to have been once instructed by the Siddi's officers to allow the passage of Siddi's bullocks carrying rice to the Desha and bringing back wheat.² Once Gondji Kambre from Dorle and Mahalunge owed Rs.6/- to the Swami. Siddi Sad collected the amount for the Swami and sent it to him. Similarly the Siddi gave a 'kaul' (assurance of safety) to the village Kombardi at the Swami's request.³

26. Preparation for the campaign.

From 1728 to 1731, Bajirao and Chimaji Appa were busy with Malwa, the Nizam, and Senapati Dabhade. The Nizam was humbled at Palkhed on February 28, 1728 by Bajirao. Chimaji routed Dayabahadur the Subedar of Malwa, at Amjhera on 29th October 1729 and Bajirao defeated Bangash in March 1729. Shahu brought about a settlement with his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur in 1730. The Peshwa-Senapati rivalry ended at Dabhai in April 1731 in which Bajirao scored a victory over Senapati Dabhade.⁴ - -

1. PBCL 282.

2. 1730 A.D. DCHM 20/781.

3. 1733-35. Ibid 20/767.

4. SNHM^u/ p.85. SPD 13/16, 26, 28, 45.

In the meantime, in the Konkan, Admiral Kanhoji Angre died on 4th July, 1729. Events began to move rapidly after his death. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sekhoji, who became Admiral on August 5.¹ Sekhoji came to Satara and the campaign against the Siddi was discussed. Next year in February, Bajirao went to Alibag and the campaign was planned.²

27. His suggestions to the Queens.

During the war occasionally the Swami was in touch with the events of the campaign. It was essential to prevent the English from rendering any help to the Siddi. The Chhatrapati, the Peshwa and the Angres were making attempts to prevent the English from contacting with the Siddi. The Swami wrote to Queen Sakwarbai that he had friendship with the English and asked her permission whether he should go to Bombay to mediate with them. In another letter to the Queen in July 1734, the Swami wrote that the English the Portuguese and the Sawants of Wadi had espoused his cause and that he would get Anjanwel and Govalkot any time he wanted.³ The Queen courteously replied to the Swami that it was good that he was endeavouring

1. DPB.I,p.49

2. R.III 10.

3. PBCL 102.

to stop the English. She suggested, however, that such questions should not be discussed with women folk like her but he should approach the Chhatrapati who was the final authority. Here it must be noted that the Swami himself tells the Queen about his friendship with the English. Evidence elsewhere so far do^{es} not prove that the Swami ever had any connection with the English. Moreover, the Swami's approach to the Queen in political matters is open to criticism. Why were not these suggestions made to the Peshwa, the Angres and to the Chhatrapati? The Swami's offer of negotiating with the English expressed in his letters to the Queen was not only quixotic and chimerical, but unpracticable. The English did help the Siddi upto 1739 when a pact was signed with Capt. Inchbird. If anybody could ever have influenced the English, it was further Angre not the Swami. It can/Be argued that if the Swami really had any desire to stop the English from helping the Siddi, he would have used his influence and done a great service to the Maratha State.

The Swami gave a warning to Sambhaji not to believe in the Siddis, and to take care of himself and expressed his dislike for him because he did not care to listen to him.¹ Bokaji Mahadik took Bankot in June 1733. The

Swami was informed by Mathurabai Angre and he wrote back to her that Bakaji was a worthy man and asked her to bestow favour on him. He further/~~said~~^{added} that Bhargava ^swished to give the kingdom of Konkan to the Angres and that if Anjanwel and Govalkot would capitulate, he would come down to Konkan for the Samadhi."¹

28. Internal revolution in the Janjira State.

At this time, an internal revolution in Janjira fort offered an opportunity to the Marathas. Shekjhiji, a powerful Siddi Sardar (formerly a Hindu fisherman) promised, through Yeshwantrao Potnis, to transfer his allegiance to the Marathas on condition that he was put in command of the fleet, given a large portion of the territory under Janjira and his brother appointed second in command at Rayagad.² After Siddi Rasul's death his eldest son Abdulla was murdered and his grand son Abdur Rehman fled to the Marathas for protection.³ With Shekhji, the Peshwa installed himself at Rajapuri to conduct the siege.

1. PBCL 330.

2. SPD 31/165.

3. Chitnis Shahu Bakhar.

29. The Campaign - First Phase. (Apr. 1733 - Dec. 1733).

the

In the middle of May, Shahu sent Pratinidhi, -- Sarlashkar Somavanshi and Krishnaji Dabhade to the Konkan and also ordered the Sachiva, Udaji Chavan and Shambhoosing Jadhav to proceed expeditiously to help Bajirao.¹ Admiral Sekhoji suggested that the Pratinidhi should exert pressure on Anjanwel while he, after anchoring his ships, would negotiate with the Portuguest and the English to secure their neutrality and employ the monsoon months in reducing Thal, Rewas, Chaul and such other coastal points from which the Siddi drew provisions and sent raiding parties to plunder his towns and villages. Sekhoji's vision was bounded by his small territory of Kolaba the security of which was his primary concern.² The release of Rayagad from the Siddi's control and the capture of Anjanwel and Ggvalkot, the two arms of Janjira, were also the objectives of the Maratha army. Janjira itself was to be attacked and taken if possible so that the power of the Siddi to harass the Maratha Government in future would be completely broken.³

1. SMR CSPBV p.218

2. DPBI pp. 51-52

3. SNHM II p.137

The plan, however, was only partially carried out. The war dragged on from May 1733 to April 1736.¹ In the first phase of the war from April 1733 to December 1733, the Peshwa tried to mount his offensive. The Pratinidhi came to Mahad in May and captured Raigad by ^{means of} ~~the strategy~~ of a bribe.²

On receipt of this welcome news, the Pratinidhi received congratulations from all sides. The Peshwa, the Peshwa's brother and Angre, however, resented the success snatched away from them by the Pratinidhi and decided to isolate him.³ This was not unknown to the Swami who neither congratulated the Pratinidhi nor expressed any regret for the undesirable rivalry between the Peshwa and the Pratinidhi.

The organisation of the Maratha campaign did not seem very perfect. The Siddi's spies kept him informed of all the plans and activities of the Marathas, while the Marathas comparatively learnt very little about the Siddi's plans.⁴ It appears even Brahmins were doing the work of spies for the Siddi.

1. SMR CSPB p.234.
2. SPD 3/7
3. Ibid 33/38
4. Ibid 33/41.

On account of his long stay at Chiplun, the Swami was known to almost every person there. He kept a close watch on some treacherous persons who were conveying news to the Siddi. In a letter to Queen Sakwarbai, the Swami wrote, " (Krishnashet) Shetya and Yamaji Shivdeo's Vinayak Joshi are here. Yesterday Vinayak Joshi went with a flag and stood near the Ganesh temple. The Siddi came there and asked him where he was going. Joshi replied that he had come to see ^{the} Ganesh. The Siddi then broke down the image, thus rewarding Joshi's service. Joshi had collected Rs.2000 from the Brahmins of Chiplun and handed the amount over to the Khan (Siddi). The Setya of Chiplun too wrote everything that went on at Satara to Govalkot."¹

The Swami thought that when a fort like Raigad had fallen, it would not be difficult to bring the Siddi to his knees and all that was essential was that every one should concentrate his energies on the objective. Even Janjira and Anjanwel then would fall soon.² It was exactly the thing impossible for the Maratha captains. Mathurabai conveyed the news of Siddi Sad's retreat to Govalkot fort after being beaten by the Marathas on July 7.³ The Swami expressed his felicitations.

1. DCHM 20/1030.

2. PBCL 317.

3. DKA p 72

30. The Siddi's allies.

of

The Pratinishi's secret methods for defeating the Peshwa's plans exasperated the Peshwa and widened the breach already existing between them.¹ Angre opened the offensive in the north and captured Rajkot, Chaul, Thal and Rewas, between June and July.² In the meanwhile the English, all of a sudden occupied the island of Underi at the beginning of July as they thought that Angre's triumphs in the north Konkan threatened the entire trade of the Company in the western waters.³ There was even news of a dangerous combination between the Siddis, the English and the Portuguese.⁴

The campaign became more difficult when the English, the Portuguese and the Siddi formed an alliance. The English navy patrolled the waters near about Suvarnadurga. It is said the Swami performed a Samaradhana of 1000 Brahmins at the Bhuleshwar temple in order that the English might be defeated.⁵ We do not know whether the Swami's

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1. DPB/pp. 51-52.

2. SPD 33/22, 23, 58.

3. Op.cit. p.58

4. SPD 3/23.

5. PBCL 311.

religious performance had any effect on the English navy, but it is known definitely that the Angre brothers, Sekhoji and Sambhaji gave a tough fight to the English navy near Jaygad. The combat lasted for one and half day. The Angres burnt one of the British ships and brought two captured ships to Vijaydurg.¹

After the fall of Rajmachi and Kothavala forts, the Swami congratulated Bajirao and said his fame would have been greater had he also taken the forts of Karnala and Mahuli.²

31. Maratha offensive in the south.

In the south, Bankot, Mandangad, and Vijaygad were captured by Angre's Generals, Bakaji Mahadik and Diwan, Raghunath Hari, with the help of Bawaji Mhaske between May and July.³ Bakaji bravely defended the shrine of the Swami at Parshuram on 8th July.⁴

1. SPD 3/23, 24. DCHM 20/594.

2. PBCL 268.

3. PPD/1 104, SPD 30/95. R.III 305.

4. SPD 33/57, 3/15, 16.

News reached Siddi Sad that Bakaji was going to utilise the revenue of Parshuram for his contingent. He immediately wrote to Ganesh Ballal to hand over the revenue to his man.¹

In the same month, Bakaji Naik Mahadik with only 300 men repulsed an attack by the Siddi with 1000 soldiers on Chiplun. The Siddi had come with the intention of smashing the image of Parshuram. There were even rumours of cow slaughter by the Siddi at Parshuram.² News of Bakaji's appointment for the capture of Govalkot and Anjanwel was conveyed by Mathurabai to the Swami. The Swami wrote to her, "Honour Bakaji like Hanuman. Rama had honoured Hanuman before the capture of Lanka. Bakaji too will capture many places like Hanuman." The Swami then expressed his desire that if Anjanwel and Govalkot would capitulate, he would go to the Konkan in the month of Sharavana for his samadhi.³

The Swami congratulated Bakaji on his appointment, and asked him to be careful when attacking the enemy and ~~warn~~ warned him against Dadoba Desai.⁴

1. 26-6-33. DCHM 20/770.

2. SPD 3/15, 16.

3. R.III 305.

4 PBCL 374.

32. Drawback of the Marathas and their mutual rivalry

So far everything was progressing satisfactorily. But now the traditional rivalry and feuds among the Maratha chiefs hampered the prosecution of the war. The Peshwa specifically instructed Angre and his generals not to render any help to the Pratinidhi. He even went to the extent of despatching secret agents to the Siddi commandant encouraging him in his resistance against the Pratinidhi.¹ The Pratinidhi was deceived by Siddi Sad and was routed by him on October 5th.² He, therefore, charged Peshwa and the Angre chiefs for complicity with the enemy and attributed his failure to their intrigues. He even threatened to lay waste Angre's territory near Suvarnadurga.³

33. Death of Admiral Sekhoji Angre.

On 28th August, Admiral Sekhoji Angre died owing to overexertion in the war. With his death faded all hopes of a speedy victory over the Siddi.⁴ Consternation and gloom spread among Angre's garrisons and outstations.

1. SPD 3/21, 60, 6. 33/62.

2. Ibid 33/115.

3. Ibid 3/39, 98.

4. DPB I p.65.

In August, Bajirao wrote to Shahu, "The Siddi is not an ordinary enemy. Heroic attempts in the past to humble him have failed. A complete naval blockade, carefully arranged operations and enormous expenditure of money is needed for this purpose." He asked for 15000 expert foot soldiers.¹ The intrepidity of the Siddis, especially Siddi Sad, a skilful soldier and full of resources, was really praiseworthy. With his small garrison, he had defied the efforts of an army six times its number by mobility, clever counter strokes and diplomacy. During the monsoon, the Siddi strengthened his defences. He made urgent appeals to the Portuguese, the British at Bombay and to his colleagues at Surat, and even to the Nizam-ul-mulk and the Emperor of Delhi.² Shahu also wrote to Umabai and other Maratha Sardars to stop Siddi Masud's coming to the succour of Janjira from Surat.³

34. Sambhaji's attitude.

After Sekhoji's death in August, the operations against the Siddi took a different turn. Even when he was alive, Sekhoji once had to withdraw before the Siddi for which he expressed regret to Bajirao saying, "It is

1. PPD 1/102

2. SPD 3/23.

3. SR 58.

improper. But I am helpless on account of a divided house."¹ Lack of unity and control, and internecine feuds was the weakness of the Marathas. Sambhaji so far had pursued the policy of ranging himself on the side of his brother's enemies. As soon as he became Sarkhel, he told the Peshwa's envoy that his brother was a friend of the Peshwa, not he ".² He even declined to see the Peshwa and showed his unwillingness to cooperate.³ Bajirao's pressing appeals drew from Sambhaji only formal replies.

Overtures were, therefore, made to the Siddi for peace. The Peshwa agreed not to claim beyond what was then in actual possession of the invading force and withdraw. The first phase of the war^{war} was over.

35. The Second phase of the war.(1734-35).

In the second phase of the war, during the years 1734 and 1735, the Marathas made dashing attempts to storm the two arms of Janjira, Govalkot and Anjanwel. Bankot and Mahad changed hands several times. The Huzarat troops under Rajadny/ and Pawar pushed on towards Govalkot while

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1. SPD 33/29.
 2. Ibid 33/99.
 3. SPD. 33/100.

Jivba Chitnis led the second force against Anjanwel.¹ The Siddi secured material help from the English and the Portuguese who now patrolled the sea near Vijaydurg and blockaded Angre's navy from putting out to sea.² / Its marine communication open, Anjanwel laughed at Maratha attempts to blockade and surround it.³ The 1734 expedition repeated the mistakes of the previous year. Rajadnya at last returned to Satara in May 1735. Jivaba Chitnis also returned in June⁴ when he failed in his expedition against Anjanwel. The Maratha navy too was weak in spite of the recent capture of the entire fleet of the Siddi. They lacked guns and provisions. The heavy rain in the Konkan added to their misery.

The enemy's communications with the outside world remained intact from Dhamni side from where he threatened the Maratha rear as far as the Kumbharli pass. The chiefs abandoned their advanced positions and cantoned at Chiplun.⁵

1. SPD 3/9
2. Sambhaji's letter PBC pp.56-57
3. PBC p.71
4. SPD 33/204, 214.
5. DPB-I p.75

In January and February of 1734, the Maratha armies invested Mahad and beat back Siddi Amber Afwani who had laid siege to Raigad.¹

36. The third phase of the war.

The last phase of the Janjira war covered October 1735 to February 1737. Besides fighting with his brother Sambhaji, Angre had to face the disturbance started on his territory by the Raja of Kolhapur and Bhagvantrao, Amatya of Bavda.² Siddi Sad made pressing appeals to the English, and Pilaji Jadhav demanded guns and provisions from Satara in April 1736.³ When Mhaske withdrew in November, Siddi Sad, who had so far contented himself with defending his positions, now began to act on the offensive. Riding boldly from Anjanwel, he descended on the coastal hamlets of Angre from Jaygad to Vijaydurga/and pillaging them as he passed. The image of Ganapati of Pula was desecrated.⁴

1. SPD 33/131.

2. DPB 1 p.76. SPD 33/253.

3. SPD 33/392, 412, 415.

4. Ibid 3/169, 33/336, 337, 380.

There were rumours that the Siddi was not acting alone in his new offensive but was being supported by the disgruntled Sambhaji Angre.¹

37. Civil war in the Angre's house.

The civil war in the Angre house now took a serious turn. At the end of 1734, Manaji Angre revolted and fled to Rewdunda and raised the standard of revolt against his brother. Manaji then called the Peshwa to his aid and forced a humiliating treaty on his brother.² Sambhaji was deprived of his hereditary possessions of Kolaba and had to be content with his small possessions in the south. The civil war in the Angre house was a very serious affair and considerably hampered the prosecution of the campaign against the Siddi. It is in evidence that though the Swami outwardly advised the Angre brothers not to quarrel, inwardly he took sides. He favoured Manaji against Sambhaji.³

38. Manaji helped by the Peshwa.

When Manaji's possessions were in danger from the

1. SPD 3/192.

2. Ibid 3/112, 30/113.

3. PBCL 311, 314, 322, 324.

Siddi, Shahu sent urgent orders ~~to~~ to Chimaji to help. Chimaji did not obey immediately, but later ^{on} he marched to Konkan to render help. The Swami wrote to Chimaji that he should not leave the campaign midway and Chimaji replied, "To come to Janjira, to take the blessings of God and Brahmins is a great privilege. Who would lose the opportunity of availing oneself of this benefit? But Janjira is getting stronger day by day. The sinews of war are pouring in from right ^{and} left. Matters are getting from bad to worse. We can know things happening before us but we cannot foresee the future."¹

39. Manaji's appeal to the Peshwa for help against Siddi Sad's attack.

When Kolaba was threatened by Siddi Sad in April 1736, Manaji came to Shahu with the most pressing appeals for help. Chimaji Appa, therefore, hastened to the help of Manaji and stealing a march over Siddi Sad by moving from place to place in quick succession, he took him by surprise on the 19th April at Charahi Kamarle. Siddi Sad, Siddi Yakub, the commandant of Underi, and Subhanji Ghatge were slain in the action. It was not merely a defeat or rout for the Siddi; it was ^{a great disaster} ~~the destruction~~ of an enemy who had been harassing the Marathas for over then years.²

1. PBCL 129.

2. SPD 3/192.

40. The end of Siddi Sad.

Siddi Sad, the resourceful general of the Siddis, having been slain in the battle of Charahi Kamarlen,¹ Chimaji received a shower of congratulations from all quarters. The Swami wrote to him, "By killing Siddi Sad, a demon of the type of Ravana, you have uprooted the very life of the Siddis and earned undying fame, and success like Hanuman. You could never have won a greater victory had you taken an army of ten crore soldiers to the Konkan." Chimaji humbly replied, "This is all due to your precepts. You alone cared for our success or defeat. The Shamal (Siddi) was crushed because you had hurled the 'Sudarshan-chakra' on him."² It is interesting to note that inspite of his masterly generalship Chimaji is credulous enough to give the credit to the Swami.

41. The Swami and Sambhaji Angre.

Sambhaji now turned definitely hostile to the Maratha cause. He was yearning for his ancestral possession of Kolaba. The Swami promised to help him in securing Kolaba from Manaji by cursing the latter.³ The Swami asked Sambhaji to capture Anjanwel and Govalkot first and then proceed to take Kolaba.

1. SPD 3/192.

2. PBCL 129.

3. Ibid 314.

He warned Sambhaji that if he captured Kolaba first, his (the Swami's) fame which had spread up to Delhi, would suffer badly. Moreover, Raja Shahu, Viroobai and others would blame him. When he told Shahu that he had asked Sambhaji to take Anjanwel and Govalkot, the Raja expressed doubts.¹ In February the Swami offered Rs.50,000/- and 400 khandis of rice to Sambhaji if he would invest the forts Anjanwel and Govalkot. Sambhaji shrewdly replied that half the amount might immediately be sent to him and soldiers recruited. It is not known whether the Swami's offer ever materialised.²

42. Sambhaji's hostility.

Sambhaji Angre had been in collusion with the Siddi who had promised him help in recovering Kolaba. He once went to the extent of telling the King's messenger that the Konkan belonged to him and the Siddi and it was none of the Raja's business to interfere. He had the further effrontery to add that he was a ~~renegade~~ pirate and owed allegiance to nobody.³ The defeat of Siddi Sad naturally unnerved the Siddis of Janjira and induced them to seek a humiliating peace with the Peshwa. (Anjanwel and Govalkot alone remained

1. PBCL 318, 320.

2. R.III 275.

3. SPD 33/401.

as their mainland posts and these were captured later on by Tulaji Angre in 1745.¹). A peace was concluded on 25th September 1736. A dual government was established in the eleven mahals of the Siddi's territory. Only the island forts of Janjira, Kansa and Underi remained outside Maratha influence. The siddi remained a menace to the Marathas even fifty years after the Janjira campaign. - Haripant Phadke then wrote about him, " His actions are like a rat who nibbles a shawl worth hundred rupees."² The Janjira campaign was thus a pyrrhic victory for the Marathas if we consider the immense force and energy employed by them to checkmate the Siddi.

43. The Swami's conditional blessings.

Parasnisi says that during the Janjira campaign the Swami was not sitting idly. He was secretly pulling wires and was the prime mover behind everything.³ This is hardly correct. The Swami's blessings were always - conditional. He blessed Shahu that Anjanwel would soon fall only when Shahu promised him the grant of the village of Dhamani and Songaon.⁴ To Sakwarbai he repeated his

1. SNHM/^{II}p.140

2. DCHM 54/1/333

3. PBC p.58

4. PBCL 324.

demand that if God bestowed Anjanwel on them, he should be given the villages of Dhamank and Songaon having a revenue of Rs.1000¹. To Udaji Pawar he wrote, " If you will worship me, your fame will spread everywhere. Mahad will very soon fall and the Chhatrapati will be pleased with your services."²

44. Tulaji Angre.

Tulaji succeeded to the Admiralty after Sambhaji's death. Shahu had ordered Tulaji to take Anjanwel and Govalkot as early as possible. The Swami, therefore, wrote to Tulaji that God had told him that Matgad, Kasa and Janjira would very soon capitulate. On account of the forbidding, the Swami sent an armour (वज्रावृत्ति) to Tulaji.³ Even for Tulaji the Swami appears to have expressed his distrust.⁴

45. The Swami's role in the Janjira war.

To conclude, the Swami cannot be said to have had noble or national ambitions. He had no particular hatred for the siddis. The Swami did not preach a crusade

1. PECL 255.

2. Ibid 305.

3. DCHM 12/1106

4. Ibid 20/942.

against the Siddi with zeal. It does not appear from the correspondence that the Swami would ^{have} moved heaven and earth in support of the campaign against the Siddis. He was roused only when either ~~of~~^{were} his villages ~~was~~ in danger, or he was affected and his policy was purely selfish. Shahu the Peshwa and the Angres used to keep in touch with him but did not necessarily always take his counsel. Hundreds of letters in the Peshwa Daftar reveal to us the plan of the campaign and its execution, but the Swami does not figure among them, anywhere.

46. His partiality.

He was indifferent towards the Angres and cursed them all.¹ He worried more about one Krishnambhat Desai of Asole, a great favourite of his.² He always expected to get something from the Angres from the prize ships they captured.³ His other anxiety was about Sayaji Kanoje and his father Dattaji Kanoje, ^{the} two other favourites of his. engrossed in their affairs he would not remember While ~~with them he~~ even Kanhoji and Sekhoji Angre.

1. PBCL 316, 317, 322.

2. R.III 23.

3. DCHM 12/1059.

awkward

47. His untimely/demands.

The Swami was all the while concerned with the selfish satisfaction of his wants. While the war was in progress, he wrote to Bajirao about the forts of Karnala and Mahuli. At the end of the letter, he put forth a demand for some bottles of rosewater.¹ He congratulated Udaji Pawar when the latter bravely defended Raigad and killed Siddi Amber Afwani, but insisted on his making efforts to secure for him the sanad of Malshiras.² When he advised Chimaji not to leave the campaign, he also prevailed upon him to secure broadcloth for him. Chimaji exerted himself a good deal, but even then he could not get it. He, therefore, wrote to Ambajipant Purandare about it. The Swami did not forget to remind Chimaji of the interest on the sum advanced to Balaji Vishwanath that was outstanding.³ When the Swami sent congratulations to Chimaji, for killing Siddi Sad, he asked Chimaji to send him one 'Gambya' (probably of silver) worth rupees seventyfive.⁴ He took

1. PECL 268.

2. Ibid 305.

3. " 128.

4. " 129.

a promise from Sambhaji Angre that when the cargo from Maskat would arrive, he would be sent walnuts and grapes.¹ While Bakaji was in the midst of a military campaign near Bankot in October, 1733, the Swami asked him to send eight musk melons and the poor devotee immediately complied with his guru's command to a vow being cursed by the guru!² The blessings given by the Swami were, therefore, a mere pre-face to his demands for some material presents.

48. Criticism.

The Swami's position at least in religious matters was high in the Maratha state. He could easily have brought about conciliation and amity between the Pratinidhi, the Peshwa and Angre as he had access to all of them and was in a position to advise them and was partly in a position to arrest the internecine war in the Angre house. But the Swami was never fired by any crusading spirit against the Siddi.

Even after Siddi Sad was killed, the Swami's correspondence with the Siddis continued. In 1728, the Swami had come to Dhavadshi and settled there. In 1738 the Siddi offered to the Swami the grant of the villages

1. R.III 271.

2. Ibid 331.

of Pedhe and Ambdas and a permit for 50 bullocks. The Siddi wrote to the Swami that if he came and settled down at Parshuram from Dhavadshi, others would follow him. Siddi Yakut of Dabhol promised the Swami that he would look after him far better than had been possible in the past. "If Saints like you," wrote Siddi Yakut, "would come and stay at Parshuram many people will feel happy." The Siddi sent a full-sized rich garment embroidered with gold as a present to the Swami,¹ but the Swami never returned to Parshuram to settle down permanently.

The Swami's role in the war was not a major one at all. We find him giving occasional blessings which were mostly and characteristically conditional. Personally the Swami did not gain much except the destruction of Siddi Sad, who was not really very hostile to him.

1. PBCL 242, 243.

CHAPTER III (Continued)(iii) The Angres.1. Kanhoji Angre.

When Aurangzeb was counting his last days while
 the
 struggling with Marathas, a man who was going to be the
 most daring admiral of the Maratha navy was rising in the
 Konkan. This was Kanhoji Angre. His early career is
 little recorded in history. He is heard to have served
 Sidoji Gujar, the Maratha admiral during Chhatrapati
 Sambhaji's reign. Some time between 1698 and 1703, he was
^{either or by Rajaram.}
 appointed as Sarkhel by Queen Tarabai. As Admiral, he
 led his sailors from victory to victory and raised the naval
 prestige of Maharashtra to an unprecedented height.² He
 became a terror to the foreign powers, especially to the
 English against whom he waged a relentless war for twenty
 eight years and they had to keep a special fleet to operate
 against him, which cost them thousands of pounds a year.
 In fact he was the only enemy on the seas the English had
 to fear.³ Kanhoji had also to deal with other neighbouring
 powers - the Siddis, the Portuguese, the Sawants of Wadi
 and the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad.

1. SMR CSPBV pp. 89-90.

2. SKAOP p.1

3. Banaji - Siddis of Janjira Chap.V. p.59.

of

It was, therefore, a master stroke /Balaji Vishwanath's diplomacy when he won over Kanhoji Angre to his side in 1714. Since then, till his death, Kanhoji remained /^{loyal to the} Bhhatra-pati Shahu.

Kanhoji's family.

It is not intended to give a detailed history of the Angres here. Only the pertinent part of their activity illustrating their relation with the Swami has been taken into account. Unfortunately the correspondence gives us scanty information which compels us to leave gaps and as such continuity is at some places marred.

From

Apart from his political career we are also concerned with his family life, because amongst the Maratha nobility the family of Angres was most intimate with the Swami. Unfortunately, there is some controversy among historians regarding members of the Angre family mentioned in letters available. Brahmendra Swami is seen corresponding with Kanhoji, Sekhoji, Sambhaji, Appaji, Manaji and Tulaji. The ladies who corresponded with him were Mathurabai, Santoobai, and Laxmibai. From these members of Kanhoji's family, Apaji, Mathurabai and Santoobai Angre have been left unidentified by historians. Sambhaji and Manaji Angre were mistaken for Apaji Angre by Parasnus and Rajwade respectively.¹ Dr. Sen thought that Dhondaji was none other than Apaji.²

1. PBCL 204. Footnote., R.III Pr. p.207

2. SKAOP pp.20-25

It is, however, clear from the account of Mascarenhas given by Sen and the Bakhar of Shahu Chhatrapati that Yesaji Angre was known as Apaji Angre.¹ Sardesai and Dhabu also identify Apaji with Yesaji Angre.²

As regards the identity of Santoobai and Mathurabai Rajwade, Parasnis and Sardesai have remained silent. Mathurabai and Laxmibai are definitely wives of Kanhoji Angre.³ From the letters of Santoobai Angre, it appears that she is also a wife of Kanhoji Angre, because after his death in 1729, she does not address herself as 'Scubhagyadisampanna'⁴ meaning 'wife of'.

1. Chitnis - Shahu Charitra pp. 63-66.

2. DKA pp. 46-47, SPD 24/20 footnote.

I read a paper on Apaji Angre in the B. I. S. M. Poona, in October 1959. In the discussion that followed all present agreed that Yesaji must be Apaji.

3. Ibid. - p. 46 AAA 364.

4. R. III 326, 328.

Now either Santoobai must be the other name of Laxmibai or Mathurabai or the name of Kanhoji's third wife. Santoobai and Mathurabai were not the same. In a letter to Mathurabai, the Swami once made separate mention of Santoobai.¹ Gahinabai, Kanhoji's third wife, seldom writes to the Swami. It is obvious, therefore, that Laxmibai and Santoobai are identical. Santoobai seems to be the premarriage name of Laxmibai. The Swami when writing to ladies with whom he was intimate, ~~he~~ addressed ^{their} them by premarriage names. Umabai Dabhade, for instance, is once addressed by the Swami by her former name Muktabai.²

Kanhoji and the Swami.

Some time before 1710, the Swami became a friend of Kanhoji at Suvarnadurga. Little is known how they came together at Suvarnadurga. He had given at this time 1500 hons (gold coins) to Kanhoji³. The Swami regarded this loan as an auspicious flower of ' Malati ' given as ' prasad ' to Kanhoji Angre which proved immensely beneficial to the latter.

1. R. III 335.

2. PBCL 304.

3. Op.cit. 340.

Very soon Kanhoji captured an enemy galley (kalanki) which filled his coffers to the extent of 9 lakhs of rupees. In due course, Kanhoji captured several forts from Suvarna-durga ^{South}wards and rose to eminence.¹ Kanhoji and his family were intimate with the Swami and revered him as a saint and an incarnation of Parshuram.²

At Suvarnadurga, the Swami had advanced to Kanhoji a goods and loan cash of the total value of nearly 2 lakhs of rupees as detailed below:

Rs. 60,000 in cash.

Rs. 3,000 hons.

Medals, gold ornaments, and 18 hores.

Rich clothes.

Pair of bullocks worth Rs. 300.³

Members of Kanhoji's family paid personal attention to the Swami's needs. Every year, when the Swami came out of his Samadhi in the month of Bhadrapada, Angre's men greeted and honoured him.⁴ Kanhoji sent every year 1000 cocoanuts and 12 maunds of sweet oil for the 'nandadeep' to the Swami.⁵

1. PBCL 324.

2. R.III 272.

3. Ibid 355

4. Ibid 316

5. DCHM 12/129, R.III 336.

The Swami's 'samadhi - visarjan' (the day of coming out of the Samadhi) in the month of Bhadrapada, was celebrated with pomp and fireworks. The fireworks were usually supplied by Kanhoji.¹ Kanhoji had given one small ship, (sibad, a flat-bottomed two masted craft without any deck²), named ' Choru ' to the Swami.³ Ahilya, Tulaji's mother had also been given by Kanhoji to the Swami for his services. The Swami gave her Rs.5000 and her son Rs.2000.⁴

After going to Dhavadshi, the Swami reminded Kanhoji of the debt outstanding against him. He wrote to Kanhoji that the elephant episode had cost him Rs.25,000, and demanded from Kanhoji the grant of the village of Gothana.

1. R.III 174.

2. SASM p. 162

3. PBCL 323.

4. IBID 322,324, The Swami here says that Tulaji was Ahilya's son. Some Historians regard Tulaji as a bastard. Was Ahilya, then, a concubine of Kanhoji, granted to the Swami as a maid-servant?

Kanhoji replied, " Everything happens due to the past ties. Ordinary people may feel happiness or sorrow for it; but you are a Paramhansa, beyond happiness and sorrow. Why then you are bothering over trifles? You should not have this temptation. Even the 'Sriti smritis' have ordained the same. It is not good on your part to worry about these things. As for your loan and the interest thereof, these things can never remain oral. If you have got anything written, we shall pay you the interest. Otherwise we will not pay even one per cent of interest. Every year we send you many things. Their cost up to date may please be calculated and deducting the interest, you must be aware of the remainder. The village of Gothana has been asked for by you. Your demands are increasing day by day. When a man is allowed to lie down in the verandah, he demands a house". Kanhoji, however, granted him the village of Gothana.¹ He however, expressed a desire that the Swami would return after doing good to the people on the ghats.²

Parasnisi thinks that Kanhoji was joking in this letter. May it be a joke or a serious remark, it is a sharp criticism on the nature of the Swami by a contemporary. The Swami once had been to Kolaba when he suddenly put his hand on Mathurabai's head and blessed her. She felt this

1. R.III 179

2. Ibid 180

to be a great favour and not worthy of the 'upadesha'.

In the discussion that followed, the Swami hinted at the subject of his loan. He said, " I have given money to Jaysing (Sekhoji), I do not ask it from you. " Kanhoji replied, " Your money is God's gift. We will never retain it." Mathurabai reminded the Swami that " the subject of loan is insignificant if my sons are on the way to progress due to your blessings". There are many incidents when the Swami lost his temper. He had once become angry on account of one silver glass taken by Kanhoji. The friendship of the Swami and Kanhoji according to Laxmibai was thus informal and intimate .¹

Balaji Vishwanath, being a friend of the Swami, appears to have played a part in bringing about the friendship of Kanhoji and the Swami in 1710, and the treaty between Kanhoji and Shahu. Even when Kanhoji was serving Tarabai in 1709, he was not unfriendly towards Shahu. He had sent several things demanded by Shahu in March - 1709.² A quarrel had raged between the Kramavants and Chitpavans in Kanhoji's territory. The Kramavants

1. R.III 294, 340.

2. SMR CSPBV p.92

were almost excommunicated. The views of the Peshwa and the Swami were identical on this subject. Balaji had written to Kanhoji to consider the case of the Kramavants sympathetically as they were good Brahmins.¹ The Swami too advised Kanhoji to admit the Kramavants in the community.² It appears some Brahmins were once beaten by Kanhoji, which has been casually mentioned by the Swami.³

Just before his death, Kanhoji took Palgad from the Siddis.⁴ The Swami made out that the fort was captured because of his blessings. According to the Swami, the action of Kanhoji in refusing to hand over the fort to Shahu was an act of valour.⁵ Kanhoji was Shahu's admiral. His act of not handing over the fort to Shahu was an act of insubordination tantamount to treachery. The Swami should not have commended this action of Kanhoji. The reason could be either the Swami did not wish to displease Kanhoji or he cared little for the integrity of the Maratha state under Shahu. If the latter was correct, that may mean that the Swami was

1. DKA pp.44-45

2. PBCL 328.

3. Ibid . Some of the sentences in the original Modi letter were left untranscribed by Parasnus. I have read those sentences. See Appendix.

4. JAS p.21.

5. PBCL 328.

unscrupulous. Kanhoji Angre died on 4th July 1729. The Swami was grumbling and cursing Kanhoji even after his death. The Swami once remarked to Bajirao and Chimajiappa that Kanhoji Angre did not return the money lent to him which he had earned by the sweat of his brow; and caused him sufferings.¹ Thus we collect several fragments of information about Kanhoji from the Swami's correspondence with the Angre.

(Kanhoji's)

After Kanhoji's death, the Swami kept on reminding Kanhoji's wives about the large loan outstanding against them and even went to the extent of threatening them that if the loan was not repaid, their family would be extinct under his curse. To Hindoo ladies like Laxmibai and Mathurabai belonging to the Maratha nobility, a son was a light of the family continuing one generation to another. The Swami's curse, therefore, was a matter of great insult and pain to them and stung them to the quick ; they protested to the Swami and Laxmibai wrote to him, " If you express an ill will like this, Khase (Kanhoji) might laugh at you in heaven".¹ Mathurabai wrote, " We do not deny your loan. You wrote that if we would hold back God's money, our family would be extinct. Baba, do not repeat such an evil curse on us. We have two branches (sons) by God's grace. Let them grow into a big tree. If you will pronounce a curse like this, your friend (Kanhoji) in Heaven will laugh at you.

If ever you want to curse us, curse us orally. Please do not put it in black and white.² Laxmibai and Mathurabai were quite courteous, gentle and faithful to the Swami, while the Swami's behaviour with them was most impertinent.

4. Sekhoji and the Swami.

Afmar Kanhoji, his eldest son Sekhoji became the admiral. ¹ It is said about him that he was good natured, noble and a chip of the old block in respect of valour. His brother Sambhaji was rash and insolent. ² On - Kanhoji's death, his enemies again began to lift up their heads thinking that his sons would not be as valiant as Kanhoji. His younger brother, Sambhaji, also picked up a quarrel at home. Sekhoji faced the grave situation calmly. It was due to Sekhoji's good nature that the family-feud did not take a serious turn, ^{during his life time.}

The Swami expected that he should not be judged by the ordinary law. When, according to rule, Sambhaji was to inspect the garden lands at Gothana in December 1730,

1. R.III 294.

2. Ibid Pr. p.159.

the Swami forbade him to do it and complained about the disturbances caused by the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad.¹ Similarly, for the cultivable land lying along the coast at Gothana, the Swami got exemption from taxes for twenty years from Sekhoji in April 1733.² Special permission was also given to the Swami by Sambhaji to keep his cattle at Vilavde Vatool to the north of the Muchkundi river. The villagers were also instructed by Sambhaji not to disturb the Swami's cattle.

Dabhade and Angre were related to each other. When Trimbakrao Dabhade lost his life unexpectedly in the battle of Dabhai in the beginning of April 1731, the Swami wrote to Sekhoji, "the whole world belongs to the conqueror or Might is Right (मार्त्याची पृथक आहे). Rajwade is of the opinion that the Swami wrote this to Sekhoji in order to test sentiments about Bajirao. Sekhoji could not contradict the Swami's statement but remarked that what had happened was an indication of the shape of things to come.³

1. R.III 286.

2. Ibid 257

3. Ibid 249.

Rajwade further remarks that the Swami thus exacted the expected reply from Sekhoji which he exploited in poisoning Bajirao's ears against him.¹

The Swami being an aged and experienced man, members of Angre's family sought his advice in family matters, even connected with matrimonial settlements. Sekhoji informed him about the settlement of his marriage with the family of Shitole. Bajirao approved of the match but the Swami felt that the credit should have come to him alone. He wrote to Sekhoji "Had you written to me I would personally have begged of Shitole."² Sambhaji Angre requested the Swami to choose a good bride for Tulaji and a bridegroom for Bayabai, the daughter of Manaji.³ It appears the Swami had enough time to spare for these petty matters. The motive of increasing self importance dominated the Swami in such case rather than social service.

Whenever the Swami was in trouble he sought the help of the Angres, but in Feb. 1732 Sekhoji refused to arrest two men according to the Swami's order who had fled to the Pratinidhi's districts. Sambhaji too once refused to arrest Antaji Shivdeo at Vishalgad for the same reason. The Angres as far as possible avoided friction with the

1. R.III Pr. p.163

2. Ibid 260

3. Ibid 267, 304, 287, 288.

Pratinidhis.¹ The three villages of Pedhe, Ambdas and Naisy had been granted to the Swami by the Siddi. In 1735 the Siddi did not pay much attention to the Swami's vatan villages. The Swami, therefore, suggested that either the Siddi of Govalkot should be punished or pressure should be brought on him from his superiors at Rajapuri that the villages should be continued with the Swami as before. Sambhaji consoled the Swami as Bajirao was already in the Konkan for punishing the Siddi. He, however, promised the Swami to write to the Siddi.² The commandant for Poornagad carried away jackfruits from Mahalunge without permission and harassed Swami's men. When the Swami complained to Sekhoji, he removed the havaldar from his post.³ We find the Angre brothers complying with the Swami's requests as far as possible.

The Angres acted as the custodians of the Swami's money, and valuables. When the Swami's household articles needed repairs, they were sent to Suvarnadurga. The devara (wooden case for images) was prepared by Angre's carpenters for the Swami, on his requisition.⁴ Once the silver-pot of the Swami was sent to Suvarnadurga

1. R.III 269

2. Ibid 270

3. Ibid 244

4. Ibid 276, 314, 327, 78.

for repairs.

5. The Swami's debt.

The Swami always reminded the Angre brothers that because of their father's mistake in carrying away the elephant he had to leave the Konkan.¹ He also reminded each of them about the large loan outstanding against them. He wrote to Sekhoji, "I have not earned my money by lying. If you don't wish to pay, write frankly. I shall leave this country."² "If you will pay my loan in this life" he wrote to Sambhaji, "well and good; otherwise in the next birth you will have to pay~~z~~ a thousand rupees for every rupee along with your family. Pay me in kind calculating the price at double the amount and relieve Kanhoji from the debt. Great man, I am not even receiving from you ten rupees during the whole year!"³ To Tulaji the Swami had written, "He who will keep God's money will have his family destroyed. His house will be burnt under the midday sun. He will suffer for twentyone births. If you wish that Kanhoji, Sambhaji and Sekhoji

1. PBCL 315, 328, 340.

2. Ibid 316.

3. Ibid 312, 317.

should go to heaven after their release from hell, pay me my money. If you will not pay, you will never prosper and your parents will suffer in hell." The Swami then tells Tulajk he should pay the debt in the form of following commodities :-

25 khandks (about 18 tons) of iron bars
 10 khandis ($7\frac{1}{2}$ tons) of sugar
 1 maund of Narayan oil
 5 maunds of sandalwood
 1 maund of grapes
 1 maund of cloves
 1 maund of silk
 $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of saffron
 $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of musk
 1 seer of nutmeg and mace.¹

It is doubtful whether even the Maratha King Shahu ever possessed such a huge quantity of things demanded by the Swami. This list makes us feel that the Swami was "every inch a money lender."

Angre being in charge of Maratha navy on the western seaboard always came across foreign ships as prizes in battles or in raids on foreign posts (and goods)

commodities of various kinds thus became available. The Swami always prayed that prize ships laden with gold would be captured and he would ask something from them.¹

To a sanyasin all men - nay all animals are equal. Capturing a prize-ship is after all a pirate's work. To ask something from the pirate's loot is almost participating in the looting of the enemy. The Swami's desire, therefore, appears paradoxical to his status of Paramhamsa.

Sambhaji once refused to give the Swami anything out of captured enemy ships and in spite of the Swami's insistence, Sambhaji paid no heed to him. In 1733 the Swami decided to perform a Yagna for the capture of alien ships. The Swami appears here to be behaving like other Maratha noblemen, as we find Shahu and other Sardars making various demands on the Angres when enemy prize ships were captured. In 1736, grapes and walnuts had become very dear. The Swami sent fifteen rupees to Sambhaji Angre for the purchase of walnuts and grapes from Arab merchants when ships from Mascat arrived. In 1742, the Swami demanded Rs. 15000 from Tulaji on the capture of enemy ships.² Appaji Angre's ships brought mangoes from Goa for the Swami.³

1. PBCL 331, 320, 324.

2. R.III 271, 273, 298, 306.

3. Op.cit. 203.

Most of the Swami's needs were catered for by
 the Angres. Large quantities of mango^(মাঙ্গু) stana, succulent
 roots^(রুঁি) grapes, fine woolen cloths (rajaies and dulais)
 boxes,
 frankincense, nutmeg, husks, sandalwood, citrons, pome-
 granates, almonds, etc. were sent to the Swami by the
 Angres.¹ The Swami needed rare and costly medicines like
 sulphur, narayan oil, hemagarbha, shilaras, etc. Sambhaji
 Angre many times got fed up with these demands and warned^x
 the Swami not to pester him repeatedly.² The Swami was
 not satisfied with merely demanding these things. If
 they were not sent, he used to curse the parties. Frequently
 he found faults and made curt remarks. To Tulaji he wrote,
 "You sent us cardamom. All are useless. Not even one
 fourth were of any use. Moreover it was less than that
 was required.³ To Sekhoji he complained about a dulai sent
 by him. " You should not have sent me such inferior
 quality. Purchase a new piece, make a fine broadcloth and
 send it to me. The sugar you have sent is not correct
 in weight."⁴ The Swami never cared what trouble the

1. R.III 178, 181, 246, 252, 248, 256, 260, 259, 274, 280.

2. Ibid 272, 277, 280.

3. Ibid 298.

4. Ibid 260

person would have to undergo for meeting his demand or whether the time was proper or not. He asked for water melons from Bakaji when the latter was in the thick of fight in the Janjira campaign.¹ An annual grant of one buffalo had been ~~been~~ imposed upon Manaji by the Swami and in 1745 Manaji had to request the Swami to release him from this.² Tender coconuts and pineapples sent by Mathurabai as a present to the Swami were returned by the Swami because they were spoilt in the transit.³

The Swami had several maid servants at Dhavadshi. Out of them Anandi, Radhu, and Soni were sent by Sekhoji Angre in 1731. It appears that they quarrelled with the Swami and fled from Dhavadshi in 1737. The Swami instructed Sambhaji not to allow them to stay at Gothana to which Sambhaji agreed. Sambhaji Angre had taken a fancy for one maid servant, Rahi, at Gothana. He wrote to Trimbak Krishna Moghe, the Swami's kamavisdar at Gothana, that he wanted one smart maid servant who knew cooking. He further stated that Rahi should be sent to him and that in exchange he would send another maid. Trimbak Krishna informed Sambhaji that he could not send her without the Swami's permission. Rahi was unwilling

1. R.III 331. PBCL 374.

2. R.III 315

3. Ibid 335.

to go, but Trimbak Krishna advised the Swami to send Rahi to Sambhaji in order to maintain good relations with him. " If you will get angry ", wrote Moghe, " he will take her by force, and you will lose your good name." The Swami had kept some of his maids at Rasalgad also. One maid purchased by Kavji Kadam for Rs.60/- was carried away by Sambhaji. The Swami repeatedly wrote to Sambhaji but he paid no heed to him.¹ This was the nature of exchange between the Swami and the Angres.

6. The civil war in the Angre household.

One of the characteristics of the Maratha nobility of the eighteenth century was their internecine feuds. The house of Kanhoji Angre was no exception to this rule. The sons of Kanhoji fought among themselves after his death with the result that the Maratha navy was ruined and the position of the English was considerably improved. The civil war had four phases :-

a) Sekhoji vs. Sambhaji.

Sekhoji, being senior, succeeded to his father's post of admiral after Kanhoji's death. Differences,

1. DCHM 12/640; R.III 278, 334, 339, 264; PBCL 324.

however, arose between the two brothers and though both were brave like their father, Sekhoji was conciliatory by nature while Sambhaji was rash and curt. Sambhaji being jealous, remained at Suvarnadurga his headquarters and began to call himself the Sarsubhedar of Maratha armada though there is no record of his being made Sarsubhedar.¹ Skhoji and Sambhaji were asked by Shahu to have their check posts at Panhala and Vishalgad respectively when he was fighting with his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur in July 1729.² The Swami noting the differences between the two brothers, got Dattaji Kanoje and Bakaji Naik, his agents, to suggest the title of sarsubhedar to Sambhaji. This, of course, is however, a conjecture by Rajwade.

The attitude of both Sekhoji and Sambhaji towards the Swami was respectful and courteous. "I desire to see you", wrote Sekhoji, "and take your advice after father's death as to how I should behave in future, and wish to act - according to your instructions". But the Swami declined to see him on the lame excuse that he had to attend to some other important business. Sambhaji too wrote to him, "After father's death, you are everything to us. Please

1. R.III 267.

2. S R 42,47.

come here and bestow your paternal care on us. Direct us with some wise precepts.¹ Externally the Swami expressed a desire that both should prosper.² Dattaji Kanoje, who was in Sekhoji's service, was quite intimate with the Swami. He was imprisoned by Sekhoji for conspiring with Sambhaji. The Swami got him released and criticising Sambhaji brought pressure on him to re-appoint Dattaji.³ The Swami advised the brothers to drive out from their minds their mutual distrust and showed Sambhaji's letter to Sekhoji. Sekhoji replied, " I have got only one brother. Had there been five or six brothers, I would have quarrelled with them. We wish that we should live amicably and preserve the glory of our house."⁴ Sambhaji wanted land from Vijayadurg district. Sekhoji gladly granted it and brought about conciliation.⁴ Sambhaji, therefore, refused to appoint Dattaji as he was reconciled to his brother . The Swami cannot be given full credit for the return of good relations between Sekhoji and Sambhaji. It was mostly due to the kindness of Mathurabai and Laxmibai, and to the noble nature of Sekhoji and the conciliatory attitude of Sambhaji.

1. R.III Pr. p. 160.

2. Ibid P. 160.

3. R.III 265, 266.

4. Ibid. 362.

b) Sambhaji vs. Manaji.

After Sekhoji's death in 1733, Sambhaji became the Sarkhel. The Janjira campaign was then in progress. During his life-time, Sekhoji had become helpless due to a divided household.¹ During the war, the Swami asked Sambhaji that he should take Anjanwel and Govalkot. Sambhaji did not whole heartedly co-operate with Bajirao. Bajirao concluded a truce and immediately retreated towards Poona.² The civil war in the Angre house now took a serious turn. At the end of 1734, Manaji revolted and fled to Rewanda. Manaji then called the Peshwa to his aid and forced a humiliating treaty on his brother.³ Sambhaji was deprived of his hereditary possessions of Kolaba. To occupy the ancestral seat of Kolaba was the long cherished desire of Sambhaji. " You are our brother, parent, teacher, God, religion - everything; after the death of our brother," wrote Sambhaji to the Swami, " take me to Kolaba and be-friend with Manaji. I shall have no ill will towards him. Have I got any other brother? He need not fear that I shall harm him or the people of Kolaba. I shall forgive all his offences and do good to him more than ever before."

1. SPD 33/29.

2. Ibid 33/31.

3. Ibid 3/112, 30/113.

Sambhaji requested the Swami to wait till Vijayadashmi.¹

It was decided between the Swami and Sambhaji that Sambhaji should come to Suvarnadurga. The Swami should then go to Kolaba and after convincing Manaji prevail upon him to hand over Kolaba to Sambhaji. Sambhaji, however, did not go to Suvarnadurga. Manaji now wrote to the Swami and sent him an invitation. The Swami thought of going to Kolaba and ordering Manaji to hand over Kolaba to Sambhaji, and if he refused, to curse him. When he conveyed this plan to Shahu and Bajirao, they thought it rather ridiculous and gave a practical hint to the Swami. "If what you intend to accomplish does not happen by seeing Manaji, you are very likely to do harm to your own life. Please therefore do not go." The Swami, therefore, dropped the idea and suggested to Sambhaji that he (the Swami) should proceed in advance to Kolaba and Sambhaji should follow him with the navy. Kolaba would then easily capitulate. It appeared that Manaji's days were numbered. The Swami at last had to leave aside his power of curse and rely on the temporal but sure power of Sambhaji's navy! It is clear from this that both Shahu and Bajirao, who were practical men, knew what the Swami really was. The Swami's curses were mere words and he possessed no miracolous powers.²

1. R.III 275.

2. PBCL 322.

The Swami even offered to pay Rs. 50,000 and 400 khandis of rice to Sambhaji if he would invest the fort of Anjanwel. Sambhaji asked him to send half the amount immediately.¹ It is not known whether the Swami's offer ever materialised. When he informed Shahu that Sambhaji was going to take the two forts, Shahu did not believe it. If the Swami had seen Sambhaji before the capture of the forts, he (the Swami) believed that he would have been defamed everywhere. If Sambhaji had proceeded to Kolaba without Govalkot and Anjanwel being taken, Shahu, Viroobai and all others would have blamed the Swami and his reputation which, as he believed, had reached as far as Agra and Delhi, would have suffered.² The Swami used to address Sambhaji as the king of the Konkan and regarded himself as the Mahapurush the king.³

me Somehow or other, the relations between the Swami and Sambhaji strained and ultimately resulted in a bitter quarrel. It appears that a gun, a flag and a shawl belonging to the Swami were taken away by Sambhaji, perhaps as a joke. " He kicked me in very daylight. I cursed him to death" wrote the Swami to Tulaji about this incident.⁴

1. R.III 275.

2. PBCL 318, 320.

3. Op.cit. 273.

4. PBCL 322.

The Peshwa did not like the attitude of Sambhaji. As Manaji took his help, the admiralty was split into two and Sambhaji remained as a Sarkhel at Suvarnadurga and Manaji was made a Vajaratmab with his headquarters at Kolaba. Sambhaji became desperate. It is not unlikely as Rajwade thinks, that Manaji was encouraged by the Swami and Sambhaji was humbled by him.¹ The Janjira campaign suffered considerably on account of this rivalry.

The internecine war in the Angre house had disastrous effects on the Angre family and their sardars. Raghunath Hari Gupte had served the Angre family since Kanhoji. He was the Dewan of the Angre. Sambhaji seems to have persecuted him. When the Swami asked Raghunath Hari to remind Sambhaji of the debt, Raghunath Hari replied that he himself was driven out by Sambhaji. Sambhaji charged him with witchcraft which is said to have killed Kanhoji, Naropant and Sekhoji. According to Sambhaji, Raghunath Prabhu deserted his wives while Pilaji Jadhav^{*} told the Swami that Sambhaji had imprisoned them. When Pilaji Jadhav asked Sambhaji to relieve them, he refused and forced them to do the work of grinding grain, challenging Pilaji.² Raghunath Prabhu, who had been a brave general

1. R.III Pr.p.169. * Peshwa's sardar and a relation of the Angres.

2. PBC p.70. PBCL 326.

during the Janjira war, was now reduced to abject poverty and misery. He had no money, not even sufficient clothes to wear. He was even prepared to sell himself if the Swami asked him to do so.¹

The Swami could not quell the fire of mutual hatred among the Angre brothers. Sambhaji went to the extent of driving Laxmibai, his step mother, out of the house and planned to murder Manaji.²

We have seen with what duplicity the Swami behaved with Sambhaji, extolling him to his face as king of the Konkan and cursing him behind his back. He assured Sambhaji that Manaji's days were numbered. Now let us see how he writes to Manaji. " You have been munificent and your fortitude is admirable. Your valour is far superior to that of Sambhaji."³ Kanhoji had told the Swami that Manaji would be of service to him after Sekhoji. The Swami too told Manaji that he would be useful to him in his last days. He then related the incident of the meeting with Sambhaji to Manaji. " Sambhaji desired that I should come to you and curse you. He came there and harassed me and then became the victim of my curse.

1. DCHM 20/646.

2. SAP L. 119

3. PBCL 326.

I drove out his messenger who brought his letters. In spite of their repeated entreaties I did not see them."¹ All this extolling of Manaji was for the purpose of securing ghee, rose water, grapes, sugar and succulent roots from him.² As the Peshwa favoured Manaji against Sambhaji , the Swami, it appears, followed the same course. This definitely proves that the Swami was partial.

c) Manaji vs. Tulaji.

After the death of Sambhaji in 1742, Tulaji and Manaji came to blows. During the lifetime of Sambhaji, Tulaji had always remained on the side of Sambhaji. In 1740, when the Peshwa's relations with Sambhaji were strained, Tulaji fell in Peshwa Bajirao's hands at Hirakot. The Swami got him released by advising the Peshwa.³ It appears from this that the Swami was quite friendly with Tulaji at the beginning. The Swami, however, is seen expressing his distrust of Tulaji in emphatic terms in a letter to Manaji. "About Sambhaji, that rascal had been dishonest to me and gave me infinite pain. Now Tulaji has stepped in his shoes. He too is going to harass me. I do not lose anything thereby. Everybody will have to

1. PBCL 238, 327.

2. Ibid 327.

3. Ibid 140, 154.

pay for his actions." ¹

d) The Swami and Apaji Angre.

An incident in connection with the succession of Sarkhelis rights after Sambhaji's death is worth recording here. Yesaji alias Apaji Angre was a brave and efficient person and aspired to secure the Sarkhelis after Sambhaji. The Swami generally backed the man likely to be in power with the object of securing some advantage. The Swami was desirous of having the village of Dhalavli, tarf Haveli, Prant Rajapur and it is interesting to see what he did to achieve his object.

The Swami was shrewd enough to notice that Shahu was influenced by his pseudo-queen Viroobai and queen Sakwarbai. The proper approach, therefore, for getting Shahu's sanction was through his queens. Kanhoji Shirke had written to the Swami about some business he had at court and sought the Swami's advice. The Swami sent him the reply, " I have told you the keyword for achieving your object. You and Apaji Angre should approach the queen (Sakwarbai) and your work will be done. Do not bother her for expenditure. If you will ask for money it becomes difficult for her." ²

1. DCHM 20/942

2. PBCL 212

In July 1743, the Swami secured Shahu's orders for granting him the village of Dhalavali which was till then in possession of Tulaji Angre. Tulaji had not yet become the Sarkhel. He is not addressed as a Sarkhel in this letter. Most probably Tulaji did not hand over the village to the Swami at the time.

In relation to this, there is an interesting incident related in the bakhar. The Swami got angry and refused to see Shahu who had purposely come to Dhavadshi. When Shahu asked Jagannathpant* the reason for the Swami's disappearance, he replied, "Shahu has granted the village Dhalavli to the Swami, but Tulaji has not permitted the Swami to secure the village. The Swami has, therefore, become cross and refuses to see the Chhatrapati." When Shahu met the Swami, he told him, "Baba, Tulaji is my servant but he is your devotee". The Swami replied, "Yes, my pupil has betrayed me". Shahu said "The servant also has betrayed us".¹

The Swami is again seen pressing Apaji Angre for the grant of the village. Appaji granted the village

* Son of Chimnajipant Bhagwat. Swami's dependent.

1. SKBC p.20

to the Swami at the beginning of December 1744, anticipating the sanction for his Sarkheli, and wrote to the Swami, "The trouble is yet not over and I have not been able to get the sanction for the Sarkheli as yet. I hope you will soon secure the same for me."² Apaji does not refer to himself as Sarkhel in this letter. In two of his letters addressed to Pandurang Vishram the minister of the Chief of Sawantwadi, Apaji is, however, seen addressing himself as Sarkhel. For want of evidence elsewhere, it can be inferred that Apaji had become Sarkhel from 1744 onwards² in anticipation of the sanction of Shahu. The queen (Sakwarbai) once asked the Swami whether he had ever recommended Apaji for Sarkhelship. The Swami replied that he had never recommended him. It was Shivaji Hari, the queen's secretary, who had written to Tulaji Angre that the Swami was going to give the Sarkheli to Apaji. The queen made enquiries and asked Shivajipant whether he had written to Tulaji and he denied having done so. The queen wrote to the Swami that he might have spoken to somebody else and the news might have reached Tulaji who, therefore, was rather displeased with her.³ Shivaji Hari immediately communicated to the Swami that he was totally ignorant

1. DCHM 20/1173. PBCL 204,205.

2. Pingulkar A. History of Sawantwadi State 1911.No.60-61.

3. DCHM. 12/1111, PBCL 100.

of the affair and on oath he wrote to the Swami that he had never written to Tulaji saying that if he had done so, he was liable to be punished.¹ In another letter the Swami writes, "I beat Shivaji Hari with shoes"², while in a letter to Tulaji Angre, the Swami writes, "Your fame will remain on this earth till the sun and moon will last. You are so clever. Do you think I am so foolish as to help Apaji in winning the Sarkheli for him?"³ This case of Appaji's Sarkheli, therefore, is enough to throw light on the scheming nature of the Swami. If the Swami was telling the truth, then the Queen, her secretary Shivaji Hari, Apaji Angre and the rest were all playing false. If they were right, then the Swami was telling a falsehood. A glimpse can also be had of the type of politics the Swami was playing from this correspondence. The Swami encouraged Nagoji Angre and Sadashivrao Bhau to invade Tulaji's territory and to punish him.⁴ The Sawants the Raja of Kolhapur, Bhagwantrao Amatya the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad, and Apaji Angre had allied against Tulaji. The Swami sent a letter of congratulation to Bhagwantrao Amatya for planning a joint expedition against Tulaji.⁵ Thus the Swami's duplicity

1. 1. DCHM 20/740

2. Ibid 12/1064

3. Ibid 12/1106

4. PBCL 79.

5. DKA p.173.

is manifest in his behaviour with Tulaji also.

Tulaji, however, behaved humbly and respectfully towards the Swami. Once he sent some clothes as a present to the Swami after his samadhi visarjan ceremony. The Swami insulted Tulaji's servants and refused to accept the clothes, but Tulaji took it lightly and sent whatever else was demanded by him.¹ The Swami also kept on worrying Tulaji by constantly reminding him of the debt and the interest which had accumulated on the large outstanding amount of three lakhs of rupees.²

"If both of you - Tulaji and Manaji - will come together," wrote the Swami to Tulaji, "you will capture Pal and Rajmachi from the enemies. Manaji has vowed before me not to nourish antagonism against you. You must also clear your mind and unite."³ But these were only formal expressions of good will. The Swami actually behaved quite differently. The Swami's servant, Naroji, acted arrogantly towards Tulaji and poisoned the Swami's ears by false stories. Tulaji wrote to the Swami, "Listening to the false reports of that mean-minded man, you have blamed and scolded me. Is this becoming of your magnanimity and ripe age?" The Swami's praises, therefore, appear hypocritical.

1. R.III 297

2. PBCL 312,317. R.III 298.

3. Op.cit. 298.

To sum up the Swami's relations with the Angres, it can be said that his behaviour with them was not worthy of the high state of 'paramhamsa' given to him. The loans he had given to Kanhoji might have benefitted the latter, but they were a continued source of trouble to his -- successors. Kanhoji behaved like a true and sincere friend with the Swami, but the Swami cared little either for his sincerity or the devotion of his wives towards him. He played the Angre brothers against one another and cursed them behind their backs. He lost his temper over trifles and undermined the cordial relations built up over years.

Regarding the rivalry between the Angre brothers, there was very little that the Swami could have been expected to do. The root lay in the nature of the Maratha nobility itself. Bajirao split the unity of Angres, Kanhoji, and Sambhaji defied Shahu while Sambhaji and Manaji sided with the enemies. The Swami was also a part of this society. "The Swami did not wish", as Rajwade says, "that the unity of the Angres/^{was}of importance". He cared little for their sentiments and was concerned with the satisfaction of his demands only. He expected that they should always send him rich clothes, dry fruit, and many other things from prize ships whenever he required them. If they should capture/ships, the Swami's share of choice goods must be reserved. The Swami's favourites like Krishnambhat, Dattaji Kanoje Bagul must be satisfied to

their heart's content. His interest and debts should also be paid in time. It was then only that the Swami would bestow his blessings, otherwise dire curses and hell would be waiting for them and their family.

The Swami, in fact, cared very little for the welfare of the Angre family. A few sentences here and there formally expressing his good wishes are not sufficient to show his true relations with the Angres. Members of the Angre family also were not worshipping the Swami blindly. They knew his weaknesses, but they still maintained their good relations with him on account of their good nature and because the Swami was an influential person in Shahu's court and was a friend of the Peshwas. The Swami cared more for himself and his favourites like Kanojes and Krishnambhat than for others. His evil curses cannot be excused by calling them -- 'experiments'.¹ In spite of his atrocities, Sambhaji seems to be a sensible man and had implicit confidence in the Swami.² When Sambhaji was in difficulties, he sought the help of the Swami but the Swami paid no heed to him. Sambhaji, therefore, made a last pressing appeal to the Swami, but the Swami did not understand the gravity of the situation.³

1. Athley Kesari 31-1-1905.

2. R.III 272

3. Ibid 278

When Sambhaji was planning to ally himself with the Siddi after Sekhoji's death, why did the Swami make no efforts to prevent him from taking such a wrong step? Why also did the Swami not take Sambhaji to task for driving out Laxmibai and planning to murder Manaji? Why did the Swami allow the Angre principality to be divided among the family by the Peshwa? Was not one integral principality of the Angres essential for the benefit of the Maratha State and the protection of the Hindu religion? The answers to all these questions is that the Swami lacked both foresight and scruples. Had he been a statesman with any foresight, he would not have harassed the Angres by his curses. On the other hand, he would have obliged them by cancelling their debts and helped in crushing the enemies of the Marathas. He was endeavouring to collect God's money, but the principle that for the protection of the Gods the nobility should prosper, had not gone deep in his mind.¹ Athley, Parasnis and many others have taken into account only the Swami's good wishes and blessings, and have made them the basis of their arguments. His curses and machinations must also be considered before estimating his relations with the Angres. The Swami's lack of foresight and failure in checkmating the feud in the Angre family had devastating effects on the Maratha State.

1. Granthamala VIII-6. p.5

While estimating the Swami's relations with the Angres, we get an ample knowledge of the favouritism of the Swami. The Swami's behaviour in this respect is not worthy of his status of 'Paramhansa'. Here is an account of two of his favourites.

i) Krishnambhat Desai of Asole.

It appears that Brahmendra Swami was interested in some persons whom he loved to favour at the cost of others. Krishnambhat Desai was one such person. The case of his vatan dragged on for about twenty years from 1725. The Swami personally took interest in him and made efforts for winning his vatan.

Early in the reign of Kanhoji the Swami asked him to bestow the vatan to Krishnambhat.¹ Anant Prabhu Ghate was the opponent of Krishnambhat. Their dispute about the Deshmukhi of Asole at last went to the Satara court. Krishnambhat had given the hints to the Swami how the case should be manipulated in order to win it against Anant Prabhu. It reveals the scheming nature of Krishnambhat. In the proceedings of the case, Krishnambhat pleaded that he was in possession of the title-deeds for his vatan right from the days of Shivajimaharaj.

decision was given in favour of Krishnambhat. Anant Prabhu went to Kolaba and told Kanhoji that Govind Ramji and Sripatrao (Pratinidhi?) were bribed and the decision went against him. Kanhoji therefore gave him fresh grants. Upon this, the Swami later on remarked, "If Anant Prabhu's case was genuine, why then fresh papers were granted by Kanhoji? Poor Krishnambhat has been put to the unnecessary expenditure of Rs.2000/-. If what I state were to be proved false I shall not continue to reside in this kingdom for a day more. I will leave this state of my own accord. At the time of the episode of the elephant, Kanhoji sent an invitation to me. But I refused to go."¹

¹ Kanhoji died in 1729 and Jaysing alias Sekhoji Angre sanctioned the Deshmukhi of Krishnambhat. Before the sanction came into execution, Sekhoji died in 1735. Sambhaji, the successor of Sekhoji was not as submissive to the Swami as his elder brother was. The Swami told everyone that at the beginning Sambhaji and his mother Laxmibai granted the vatan to Krishnambhat. But Sambhaji afterwards, changed his decision and did an injustice to Krishnambhat, for which the Swami ordered that Sambhaji would have to answer before God. But the Swami did not

cease his efforts in winning the vatan for Krishnambhat. He now planned of bringing pressure on Sambhaji through his able disciple Bajirao. Sambhaji replied to Bajirao, " My father had taken the decision in favour of Anant Prabhu. Recently, due to the Swami's pressure Anant Prabhu was removed and the Deshmukhi was given to Krishnambhat. Anant Prabhu showed me the original papers. I have done as my father had sanctioned. If you don't approve it let the Swami conciliate both the parties."¹ Taking the via media, Sambhaji then divided the vatan between the two. The Swami totally disliked this arrangement and being displeased was much enraged. Sambhaji's decision was to the Swami a wanton act of deliberate insult. Krishnambhat's case became finally one of the main causes of the estrangement between the Swami and Sambhaji Angre. Krishnambhat was overwhelmed by the support and the favour bestowed on him by the great Swami. He wrote to the Swami gratefully, " I shall grow better, by your blessings. Success is within reach. But some bad characters are intervening."² Krishnambhat put implicit faith in the Swami and regarded him as his vakil (pleader) because he thought the Swami alone could win the vatan permanently for him. It was the Swami who had won his ancestral land for him. This benevolence of the Swami,

1. R.III 290.

2. DCHM 20/713.

according to Krishnambhat, was sufficient to spread the Swami's name in all directions. Overpowered by the gratitude for the Swami, he wrote to the Swami, " My family and I remember you day and night."¹

The cultivable soil lying along ~~with~~^{the} creek at - Gothana had been embanked by Krishnambhat by order of the Swami. The Swami had secured an exemption of taxes for twenty years from Sekhoji for this land. The work of reclaiming this land was entrusted by the Swami to Krishnambhat. Krishnambhat, therefore, borrowed a loan for bringing into cultivation this land. The creditors harassed Krishnambhat. Here too Anant Prabhu became his rival. Krishnambhat lodged a complaint against Anant Prabhu. Sambhaji, therefore, gave a warning to Anant Prabhu.

The Swami even once made an appeal to Shrinivas Parshuram Pratinidhi to help Krishnambhat in winning the vatan of Deshmukhi at Rajapur. The Pratinidhi replied that what-ever was going on traditionally will be continued.²

In this case of Krishnambhat, the information we get is only one-sided. Our sources are the letters of the Swami and Krishnambhat. We know almost nothing about

1. DCHM 20/675.

2. Ibid 20/242.

Anant Prabhu. It cannot definitely be said whether the decisions given to Krishnambhat and Anant Prabhu were just or unjust from the material available to the historian. The Swami's partiality, however, is quite explicit from his behaviour in this case. He cared more for Krishnambhat than the Angres. Krishnambhat's brother and his son Gopal too were employed under the Peshwa through the influence of the Swami.¹

ii) The Kanojes.

With Krishnambhat the other two persons who were mostly in the Swami's favour were the father and son - Kanojes. The origin of the Kanojes is not known. From their name they appear to be North Indian Brahmins hailing perhaps from Kanoj. Dattaji Kanoje served as a sardar under Kanhoji Angre since about 1720. In the building of the fort Jayagad in 1724 he seems to have played a prominent part.² After the death of Kanhoji, his sons Sekhoji and Sambhaji were not in good term with each other. Dattaji got involved in a conspiracy by Sambhaji against Sekhoji. Sekhoji therefore, got him arrested and kept him in confinement in 1730. Brahmendra Swami got him released

1. PBCL 4, 321, 332; R.III 295, 259, 265, 266, 240, 237.

2. SSGI I p.176.

and Dattaji came to the Swami.¹ The Swami blamed Sambhaji because it was due to Sambhaji's order that Dattaji came into trouble. The Swami pitied Sambhaji because his servants left him and went to the other side. Sambhaji disagreed with the Swami and wrote to him that everything happened according to the will of providence. Sambhaji further remarked that when his brother had sent Dattaji to the Swami, it was not good on his part to retain him by force, after the relations between the brothers had come down to normalcy. He promised the Swami to consider Dattaji's case after his meeting and deliberations with his brother.² After this, on account of the Swami's insistence, Sekhoji put Dattaji in charge of the Jaygad fort in 1732.³

Dattaji's son Sayaji came to the Swami during Sekhoji's tenure of office. The Swami got him appointed to the fort of Mahipatgad by Srinivasrao Pratinidhi's order through Yamaji Shivdeo. Dattaji died in 1741. In the same year Yamaji removed Sayaji from Mahipatgad because he wanted to give that post to one Bajaji Kadam who had given him Rs.500. Yamaji, however, promised Sayaji to give him some other post. But Sayaji refused to accept it and came to the Swami. The Swami recommended him to Nana Saheb Peshwa that Sayaji was an intelligent and active man and

1. R.III 247.

2. Jan.1731, R.III 265.

3. R.III 23.

would be very useful after some days' experience.¹ Sayaji went to the Peshwa who asked him to accept some post in the military department and promised him to give some village as grant for his maintenance. As then the Peshwa was busy in fighting with the Portuguese he advised Sayaji to go to the front at Bassein for the time being, and assured him to give a better post afterwards. Sayaji again declined to accept the offer and came back to the Swami. The Swami again instructed Nana Saheb in November 1741 to give Rs.700 a gold bracelet and two clothpieces to Sayaji. The Peshwa replied to the Swami that the amount the Swami had prescribed was too much and that no one among his officers of equal rank was paid such a heavy sum. The Peshwa offered to pay Rs.500 and two cloth-pieces to Sayaji and asked the Swami to send Sayaji to Bassein for his post and report himself to Shankaraji Keshav. The Peshwa proceeded to his campaign; and in the meantime, either because Sayaji wanted some leave, or because the Swami did not wish that he should join so soon, the Swami asked Bhau to pay the amount of Rs.500 sanctioned by the Peshwa to one Govind Keshav temporarily, instead of Sayaji, which was agreed by Bhau.³ Being very grateful, Dattaji sent always

1. PBCL 289

2. Ibid 72

3. Ibid 76

mangoes, mangostana, honey, canes, etc. whenever the Swami needed them.

Dattaji appears to have another son named Mansing.¹ Sayaji is heard of as the commandant of the fort Poornagad as late as 1756. The Swami once remarked that he took so much trouble for the sake of Kanoja, that many times he had to fast. Once he wrote to Bakaji Naik Mahadik " Ravana went to the wall for the sake of Sita. See what happens for the sake of Kanoja." Bakaji appears to have become jealous of Sayaji. He, therefore, questioned the Swami, " Why did you make Sayaji your disciple, when a pupil like me was there? " The Swami replied, " Even the great God (Rama) had eaten the berries of an Adivasi woman viz. Sahabari. What then, of a mortal like myself? ²

Whatever we learn of Krishnambhat and the Kanojes, has come to us through their own pens and through the pen of the Swami. We find, even then, that they are favourites of the Swami. They were so dear to him, that the Swami cared little either for the Angres or the Peshwa or their laws. Rajwade appears to be knowing both Krishnambhat and the Kanojes. But Parasnus has thoroughly overlooked them. We cannot overlook these persons for whom the Swami

1. DCHM 20/693, 12/1017.

2. Ibid 12/337.

was prepared to make a 'Ramayana'. It is moreover, questionable, whether a Sadhu, who is supposed to be the mediator between God and man, and as such supposed to count everyone on equal level, should be so partial to some - persons. This unequal treatment of the Swami is not fit to the garb of the saint.¹

Besides the Kanojes and Krishnambhat there were many persons who were favoured by the Swami. Many times unworthy persons were promoted and the undue influence of the Swami disturbed the administration.

Once the Swami desired to give the affairs of Sonda Bendur Goa to one Shantu Shenvi by replacing Venkatrao Ghorpade the brother in law of Bajirao.² The Swami even gave a threat of a curse if this would not be carried out.

Jagannath Chinnaji was given a post of Rs.300 p.m. by the Swami through the Peshwa. A rise of Rs.200 was also sanctioned because of his recommendations.

1. PBCL 341, 155; DCHM 20/677, 748, 12/376.

2. PBCL 38.

CHAPTER IV : THE SWAMI AT DHAVADSHI.

- i) The Chhatrapati.
- ii) The Peshwa
- iii) The Nobility
- iv) The Dependents.
- v) His End.

CHAPTER IV.THE SWAMI AT DHAVADSHI.i) The Chhatrapati.

The eighteenth century Maratha society was religious minded and superstitious. The family of the Chhatrapati was no exception to this rule. The grandmother of the great Shivaji, it is said, had vowed to one pir named Sharifji.¹ Shivaji paid homage to the Mounibawa of - Patgaon and Baba Yakut of Kasheli.² Sambhaji the father of Shahu respected Ramdas. Shahu himself revered Sadhus and entertained them with due hospitality.

It is said that Shahu's concubine Viroobai was dearer to him than his two Queens Sakwarbai and Sagunabai. Viroobai controlled all Shahu's household matters. It is said^{that} it was Viroobai who first of all came in contact with the Swami some time in 1715 when she had been to the Konkan for bathing in the sea and when she paid a visit to Brahmendra Swami.³ The contact gradually grew into an intimacy. As a result the Swami secured the villages -

1. SMR Purvardha p. 140

2. R.III 273.

3. BMDR-1 p.124.

Dhavadshi, Virmade and Anewadi in 1721 from Chhatrapati Shahu. Prince Fatesing's marriage took place in 1719. We do not find the name of the Swami in the list of the invitees,¹ which shows that the Swami had not yet become very familiar to the King.

After the raid of Siddi Sad on Parshuram the Swami finally decided to leave Konkan for good. The Siddi's maltreatment became unbearable to the Swami in his senility. He wanted a peaceful and secure place where he would be able to carry on his business of usury and his religious worship unmolested by anybody. The nearness of the King was the greatest security. He had secured Anewadi, Virmade and Dhavadshi from the Chhatrapati as inam. He had a close contact with the Queens - Viroobai, Sakwarbai & Sagunabai. The proximity of Meruling to Dhawadshi reminded him of Parshuram. Meruling was a place as secluded and quiet as that of the latter. Dhavadshi was in many respects advantageous to the Swami. In the Konkan the Swami's villages were always subject to the ravages of the - neighbouring states of the Angres, the Pratinidhi of - Vishalgad and lastly the Siddis. Here he remained undisturbed from the ravages of other powers. Maratha noblemen could come to him whenever they visited Satara. He could appeal directly to the Chhatrapati immediately whenever

he had a complaint. He could guard the interests of the Peshwa at Shahu's court and keep Bajirao informed of the happenings in the Satara court and get things done through the Queens.

Though ~~the~~ Swami went for his yearly samadhi to Parshuram for a year or two after his arrival to Dhavadshi he now began to take interest in the new order of things.

At Dhavadshi the Swami built his matha many times the size of Parshuram. Day by day his establishment went on increasing and the monthly expenses rose from Rs.3000 to 5000.¹ On the Kalkai's nala the Swami built a building to be used as a residence for himself and his dependents, Bhagwats and Tambes. On the outskirts of the village, temples of the local deities were built. Opposite his residence a bungalow was built which was reserved for the royal family whenever they would come to Dhawadshi. A well is shown today which is called bangala wihir reminding us of an old mansion used as a royal residence. Though water was plenty in Dhavadshi, it was not within easy reach of the villagers and the cattle. The Swami, therefore, decided to build a permanent big tank which would sufficiently supply water to all. With the building of wells and

1. PBCL 270, 308.

tanks orchards and guardens were planted. With these gardens full of flowers and fruit, Dhavadshi became a lovelier place than before and the Swami soon forgot his troublesome days in the Konkan.

When the Swami started from Gothana in March 1728¹ after bidding farewell to Kanhoji he first went to Goa. Halting at Kolhapur he paid devotional respects to the goddess Amba. En route he saw Udaji Chavan* with whom he was quite friendly. He had intended to see the Ghorpades also, but being troubled by the heat he proceeded to Pali whence he soon reached Dhavadshi. The Swami describes his first visit with Shahu in the following words. "The extreme heat and want of cow's urine compelled me to return to Pali where I had an attack of fever. After two days Shahu came to see me hearing of my illness. When he came I was supervising the building of the tank at Dhavadshi. Dismounting at an arrow's distance, he came walking towards me & humbly paid me the obeissance. We had a free talk for some time. I honoured him with the shawl I was wearing. He presented a Turkish horse to me. We then came to our residence. Meals were ready and the King and the Queens were served the meal. I gave the royal family a warm send off after presenting them clothes."²

1 Rajwade gives the date as March 1727. Athley thinks that it must be one year later because the Swami extended his stay due to the oath of Kanhoji. I concur with Athley.

2 R.III 175.

* A brave soldier from Athani & a partisan of Tarabai.

The Swami passed most of his time in supervising the different building works at Dhavadshi. Anewadi and Virmade were also beautiful places from the point of view of natural scenery, as they were situated on the bank of Krishna. At Virmade the Swami had his mango plantation and a dharmashala near the Ganapati temple. His place of yearly Samadhi was near ^{the river.} this Ganapati temple. It is a quiet and lovely spot. Nothing remains today of the dharmashala built by the Swami. Having taken experience in many building works the Swami's parties of stone-cutters and diggers became so efficient that they were demanded by all. Viroobai demanded them for building of a well at Nimb. Shahu sent for his diggers for building a palace at Satara.¹

After the Swami's arrival at Dhavadshi, attending to the frequent petty complaints of and against the Swami became the routine of the Chhatrapati's family. The Swami was not free from worries even at Dhavadshi. His quarrels with the Patils of Virmade and Dhavadshi took such a serious turn that he had to complain to the king and Viroobai against them. As his relations with the local officers i.e. Patils became strained the Patils created trouble for him in almost every walk of life. The Swami needed rafters for building the temple of Hanuman. The

1. DCHM 20/983, PBC p.30, R.III 17,18.

Patil of Dhavadshi refused to give the wood and asked him not to build the temple.¹ He gave a good beating to Mir-Shikar (Shahu's game officer) because he made a report about the Patil to the Chhatrapati and the Swami. He set some ghosts on the residence of the Swami. Some children and cattle in the families of the Swami's clerks ~~died~~² The Swami sent for an exorcist from Suvarnagurga and fixed the ghosts. Confession was demanded from Ambaji Patil but he refused to give the confession. The Swami regarded him a rogue. The Patil collected Rs.500 from the village. The Swami got fed up and complained to the Chhatrapati, "He is of no use to me. Whom shall I tell my grief? If Ambaji is not punished I shall leave this place and go else where."²

Wethbigari (forced labour) was common among the nobility of that time. Bawaji and Yamaji Shivdeo carried on wethbigari in the villages of the Swami. The Swami had to lodge a complaint against them with Shahu.³ Shahu sent for them and gave them warning. The Swami needed wood for the maintenance of his karkhana (parties doing building work). His men felled down trees in the villages Deverkhola and Morghar. Yamaji Shivdeo prohibited them to cut wood from those villages. The swami therefore complained to Viroobai saying, "If I am not to cut wood in your state, am I to bring it from heaven? Yamaji Shivdeo demands 50% from

1. DCHM 12/217

2. PBCL 254

3. Ibid 1

the poor charcoal burner. We are not hewing trees which are useful such as mango teak and bibvi.¹ We cut trees which are useless. Viroobai ordered him to leave those villages and asked him to cut wood from open jungle not in the vicinity of any village.²

Keroji Patil of Virmade was deadly against the Swami. As he served the Queens, he had influence with them. It appears that offences were not committed by one side alone. The Swami had his share also in these petty quarrels. Once the Swami undertook to supply rafters to the Pratinidhi. He sent Keroji Sonavani (Patil) to Fatesing under some pretext and directed Pratinidhi's people to cut wood from Keroji's compound. Keroji brought this to the notice of Viroobai who mildly upbraided the Swami by ordering him not to disturb the private estate of Keroji.³ Virmade being his inam village the Swami had legal powers in that village. In a dispute between Keroji and Yesaji the Swami was asked to give decision. Yesaji was convicted and a confession was demanded from him in writing. Yesaji's brothers Girja and Mhaloji Malu harassed Keroji's father-in-law. The Swami supported Yesaji. Viroobai had to warn the Swami

1. PBCL 263

2. DCHM 20/195

3. Ibid 20/196

for interfering in this matter.¹ The Swami became so nervous that he wrote to Viroobai, "As you wish to do good to Keroji and harm me, please send Keroji to me. I shall hand over everything to him and will take your leave."² To Shahu he complained against the Patil because the latter demanded papers by which the Swami got the fine —— of his servants cancelled from the Chhatrapati. The Patil refused to cooperate with the Swami's revenue officers (kamavisdars) and clerks. The Patil of Virmade drove away the Swami's clerk Antaji. Antaji requested the Patil to allow him to stay a week more as his wife's delivery was near at hand. The Patil refused to allow him. When Antaji went to Anewadi and stayed at Mangoji's place, the Patil even drove him away from there. He drove / Swami's servants kept on his farm also. The Swami's servant Nimbaji who watched and watered the mango trees was threatened by the Patil, "Hereafter mangoes should not be touched. Bring back the money you have collected from the villagers from the Swami." The Patil demanded from the Swami Rs.350 collected by him since the village was granted to him. The Swami's servant ran away with fear.³ The Swami therefore requested Shahu to either take back or

1. PBCL III, DCHM 29/198, 199.

2. DCHM 20/857, 196.

3. R.III 51.

exchange this village for another one. Shahu agreed to take the Patil to task.¹ It is surprising that the Swami quarreled with the Patil of Malshiras also.² One - example of the Swami's maltreatment to the Patil of Virmade is worth noting here. In his dispute with Sambhaji Patil of Virmade the Swami one day, through his servants broke pitchers of pickles, scattered the grain, destroyed the valuables, took away pots containing molasses and pulling down his house got the site ploughed by oxen. Viroobai therefore warned the Swami when she heard of this high handedness. "A saintly person like you should not fall so low."
The Swami asked her to do as Sambhaji desired. He even suggested her to hand over the village to Sambhaji.³ The action of the Swami at Virmade does not look to be that of a great saint of Maharashtra but as of a rustic peasant. It has already been seen that Viroobai was the first from Shahu's family to contact the Swami.⁴ Since then till her end in 1740 she was dearer to him than others. But she too did not overlook the Swami's misbehaviour which has already been seen in her warnings to him. It appears that the Swami like other persons/had closer contact and more

1. PBCL 148, 3, 268, 287.

2. R.III 51.

3. DCHM 20/1070.

4. Bmdr 1 p.124.

influence on the women folk. There was a give and take between the Swami and the Queens. They sent him rich cloth sweets, cows; arranged for his Samadhi-Visarjan in the month of Bhadrapada by sending a palanquin and robes of honour to him.¹ He had advanced a loan of Rs.1 lac to Queen Sagunabai.² He regarded the Queens as his daughters.³ These young queens of Shahu had no son for a long time. They therefore yearned for having one. So to Queen Sakwarbai the Swami gave some spell (mantra) the chanting of which he told her would give her a son. Once he ministered some mixture to Queen Sagunabai. "Every morning after mouth wash," wrote the Swami, "mix this mixture with Raipuri sugar and take it daily for twenty-one days. No diet is necessary. God will bestow a son upon you. Don't let anybody know this. If you have faith, you are sure to get a son. The sage Rishyashringa had given - similar rice-balls to Dasharatha's queens Kausalya, Sumitra and Kaikai. They consumed it credulously and they got sons Believe in me and you too will also get a son."⁴ The Swami's mixture unfortunately seems to have ^{had} no effect to judge from the result.

1. PBCL 16

2. R.III 37

3. SKBC p.21- DCHM 20/184.

4. PBCL 258, 260.

Many times the Swami staked his honour for trifles with a view to increase his self-importance. In the dispute between the villages Nimb and Anewadi the Swami went to the border between these two villages and sat there for nine days. Viroobai asked him not to bother about that dispute.¹

To get things done according to his wishes, the Swami many times resorted to fasting (not taking even cow's urine which was his daily routine) or leaving the place suddenly and going to some unknown place. Shahu is seen in one of his letters appealing to the Swami to take cow's urine. In another letter Shahu is requesting the Swami to come back to Dhavadshi when the latter had left in anger.²

With a view to display his versatility the Swami posed to the queens as if he was an important person in the current politics. On the eve of Janjira war he wrote to Queen Sakwarbai that the English, the Portuguese and the Sawants of Wadi were in his favour and could give their navies at his disposal; as such it was quite easy for - him to get the forts Anjanwel and Govalkot from the Siddi

1. DCHM 20/202.

The Bakhar states that Shahu personally came to the border and carried the Swami in a palanquin which does not appear to be true.

2 R.III 19,25.

at any time. He further asked her when he should secure those forts for the King. As a matter of fact the Swami should have consulted either Bajirao or the Chhatrapati for this plan. But not being confident of his suggestion being paid any attention to the Swami tried to carry it to them through the medium of this queen. The Swami was under the impression that the English were his friends on account of the casual visit of one or two Englishmen to him. *a* The amateur statesman inferred from this casual event that the English would listen to his word. The Swami mentioned this to the Queen once or twice.¹ The Queen asked the Swami to do the needful and exert his influence for stopping the English help to the Siddi. But the Swami repeated the suggestion to the Queen once more. The Queen therefore gave a sharp and cutting reply to the Swami which shows his position in the contemporary politics. She wrote, "These political matters are not hatched in the Queens' apartments of the palace. If you are so much esteemed by them please ask their responsible ambassadors to negotiate with the Raja. (It is really surprising) the Swami had never conceived these matters before. Womenfolk like ourselves know nothing of politics. If you are bent upon doing something in the matter, it is better to approach the Raja who

1. PBCL 9, 10.

is the proper person."¹ The Swami, however, was used to such expostulations and never ceased in meddling in politics. Many other instances could be found when the Swami was asked to mind his own business by the Queens. The Swami's main object of keeping the contact with the Queens was to get his demands of material things satisfied. He, therefore, many times showed them that he was very familiar to them as if he was a member of the royal family. He advised them, " Do not quarrel with the Chhatrapati. If you will quarrel I shall leave this country and throw cow's urine upon you. If you will stop quarreling with the Raja, the whole world will be happy. You have worshipped the feet of the great Rishi (i.e. himself). Whatever meal you will be preparing for the Raja will be as sweet as nector to him. And if there will be discord between you and the Raja, then even a morsel of gold given by you, he will feel as poison."² Presuming that it would be easier to secure an inam village for himself through the Queen, the Swami once asked Queen Sakwarbai why she did not grant the village Pangare to him. The Queen humbly pointed out to him that angel-like saints like him should not interfere in such political matters. She meant thereby that granting the village was not in her power but was vested in the office of the king.³ The Swami's demand for pastures for his

1. PBCL 90

2. Ibid 258

3. Ibid 102.

cattle belonging to her was refused by her. A similar request for the village Ghargaon belonging to the Queen was also turned down by her.¹ Queen Sakworbai sent Hasa blacksmith to the Swami for his dispute. Instead of giving him justice, the Swami chained him. The Queen disapproved this and ordered the Swami to release Hasa. The Swami's request for a permission to build a bridge over Nira was refused by the Chhatrapati.² Viroobai who showed high regard for the Swami all along, many times disapproved the Swami's meddling. As her relations with Nimbalkars of Phaltan were not good, she refused to grant the village in the Phaltan state demanded by the Swami.³ In connection with a case of theft at Malshiras, Fatesing had taken Rs.50/- as fine from the Berad of Malshiras who was convicted of the crime of theft. The Swami made attempts to recover the amount through Viroobai's influence. She wrote that the amount would not be returned and that the Swami should not make a mention of it again.⁴ After her death in 1740 the Swami appears to be writing ill about Viroobai.⁵ This shows the Swami's way of life. After having taken all the advantage of the person while he lived the Swami had no compunction of mind to pass unkind remarks after his death.

1. PBCL 94,95.

2. Ibid 262, DCHM 20/197, PBCL 91.

3. DCHM 20/113

4. R.III 17

5. PBCL 322.

Chhatrapati Shahu was fond of horses and loved gardening. The Swami had a common cause with the King in this respect. In their first meeting at Dhavadshi, the King presented him one Turkish horse. Whenever the Swami demanded the king sent him his horses. On one occasion, one horse presented by the King to the Swami named Ratan died. He was a favourite of the Swami. The Swami, therefore, asked another horse from the Chhatrapati.¹ Many times the Swami sent cactus pods (ketki) and pomegranates to Shahu because the latter loved them.² The Swami's servants were familiar to the King's family. We find Shahu enquiring after their health.³

Few letters of the Swami to Prince Fatesing are extant. Fatesing sent him palanquins and cows. The Swami warned him to be careful against Babuji Naik who from the point of view of the Swami was a great sinner.³

When his end was drawing near, the Swami expressed anxiety for his succession. Shahu assured him that -- Jaggannathpant Bhagwat, who was reared by the Swami as his son would be respected by all as their Guru and that the vatan will be continued in his family by him and his successors.⁴

1. DCHM 20/1036, PBCL 6.

2. Ibid 20/986, 980.

3. PBCL 12, DCHM 20/953, PBCL 300.

4. PBCL 5.

It is very doubtful whether the Swami really had any real affection for Shahu. Though outwardly he wrote to Sambhaji Angre that the Chhatrapati's devotion for him was well known to all, we find him instructing his revenue officer to drive out Shahu's men if they would come to collect money.¹ He once wrote to Deorao Meghashyam Lapate that the king appears to have been tired ~~to~~ of giving him money.² The Swami is seen passing a bad remark about the Chhatrapati in one of his letters to Queen Sakwarbai. He writes, "When I was not well and had become serious you sent the King to me and taking me to Satara cured me. Your husband (i.e. the Chhatrapati) otherwise cares very little for me. We have got no shame that is why we are staying in this kingdom inspite of gross negligence." He is once said to have remarked that the king and the Queen would be of no avail to him in the heaven.³ Shahu on the other hand had respect for the Swami as he had for other saints and fakirs. He appreciated his vanamahotsava and building activity but disliked his pecuniary affairs, curses and quarrelsome nature.⁴ Even after his death Shahu did not like anybody disrespecting the Swami. He took Tulaji Angre to task for

1. PBCL 310. R.III 39.

2. ~~PBCL 257.~~ DCHM 20/930

3. PBCL 257. SKBC p.25

4. SKBC p.34. PBCL 1.

installing one Brahmin at Parshuram. From Shahu's point of view places where saints like the Swami resided, were holy places of pilgrimage. Shahu did not regard the Swami as a common man.¹

Many critics have misunderstood the relations between Shahu and the Swami. It is no doubt Shahu revered him as a religious preceptor. We do not, however, find a single instance of Shahu discussing political matters with the Swami. Shahu was religious minded. He had granted villages to several saints, some of whom were Brahmins, some were even Mohammedans. He took blessings of Kacheswar Baba Brahme at Chakan.² People called him Rajguru also. From Shahu's point of view Brahmendra Swami might have been one of the saints he had come in contact with. Shahu granted 6 villages to Kacheswar Baba's son, Kalyan Gosavi, the Deo of Chinchwad, Sayyad Attavala Shakarkoti Sumergiri Gosavi were granted inams by Shahu. One Purnanand Swami of Nasik was also given an inam.³

Tarabai is seldom seen writing to the Swami. Only in one letter that is extant she had asked for some money and clothes from the Swami.⁴ Shahu's cousin Sambhaji occasionally wrote to the Swami. When the Swami's villages

1. SKBC p.31. PBC p.129.

2. SMR CSPBV p.42

3. Parasnisi Itihasa Sangraha Peshwe Daftaratil Sanada Patranchi Mahiti 1917 pp.237-258, SPD 30/214.

4. PBCL 17.

were disturbed by the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad he lodged a complaint with Sambhaji. Sambhaji assured him to remove the grievance and instructed Krishnaji Parshuram accordingly.¹ We find the Swami once requesting Sambhaji to arrange for the despatch of mail from the Nizam to the Siddi through his territory thus helping the enemy of Bajirao and Shahu. This action of the Swami is highly censurable. The Swami's meddling is illustrated in another letter of Sambhaji to him. The village Natonde belonged to one Gunaji Khanwelkar. The Swami's servants collected dues thinking that the village belonged to them. Sambhaji wrote to the Swami " When Mahalunge was granted to you this place was excluded. Gunajirao is an old servant of this state. You should not disturb his vatan. The money collected should immediately be returned to him.

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1. DCHM 20/997
 2. Ibid 20/995, 996.

ii) The Peshwas.

Among the pairs of Gurus and their devotees which history records, Brahmendra Swami and his disciple Peshwa Bajirao I are worth noting. It appears Bajirao revered the Swami because his parents respected him. Time and again the Swami reminded Bajirao, Chimaji, Sadashivrao Bhau and Nana Sahet how sincere and devout was Nana alias Balaji Vishwanath.¹ He insisted on them that God (i.e. the Swami) had been helping their prosperity since the days of Balaji Vishwanath.² We know very little about the relations between the Swami and Balaji Vishwanath. The Swami ~~that~~ boasted/Balaji's success against Damaji Thorat, his departure to Delhi and union with the Sayyads was all due to his blessings.³ The Swami many times felt that Balaji would be reborn again to fulfil his unfinished task. Radhabai, the wife of Balaji Vishwanath, is seen writing occasionally to the Swami.

"Bless my sons day and night, and see that they emerge triumphant in their struggle with their enemies", Radhabai told the Swami. She appears many times to be sending the letters of her sons to the Swami for information and for perusal. Once Chimaji and Bajirao had arranged to give 20 khandies of salt from Penn to the Swami. But the subordinate officers meddled and handed over only 10 khandies to the Swami.

1 PBCL 283.

2 D. 12/1049 20/869

3 SPD 9/22

The Swami lodged a complaint to Radhabai to warn those officers which she attended¹⁵ and took necessary action. In the last days of Chimaji, Radhabai kept the Swami informed about his health.

Radhabai was a pious and credulous lady. She had implicit faith in the Swami and expected that he should bless her sons, "sow good seeds so that the tree might bear fruit."¹

In order that Nana Saheb Peshwa should be successful against the Nizam the Swami made a vow of three Maharudras to the shrine of Bhuleshwar. He was to incur the expenditure of two Maharudras and he asked the Peshwa to spend for the remaining one. The Swami ^wwrote to Sadashivrao Bhau that if Radhabai would give the expenditure of one Maharudra, well and good. If not, he would shake the dust of his feet. He would himself spend for the three Maharudras, and give the religious merit so acquired to the Peshwa. How was it, asked the Swami to Bhau, that Radhabai did not understand that every year the fruit of the Swami's annual penance (Samadhi) was dedicated to their cause. He further asked why she was paying no attention to this ?²

1 PBCL 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 255.

2 IBID 291

CH

The Swami had/intense affection for the Peshwa's family.

He proudly reminded all that his wealth and 'tapa' were harnessed for their family, the result of which was the success achieved by Bajirao and Chimaji¹. The Swami was so intimate with the Peshwas' family that we find him many times asking them to carry out his petty things such as purchasing of pearls, collecting his dues from his debtors, giving appointments to his nominees, supplying clothes^{1a} and servants. Bajirao and Chimaji Appa many times asked for necessary articles such as honey and leaches from the Swami². Chimaji even sometimes paid the servants of the Swami and supervised his building works³. The Swami advanced loans to the Peshwas, the interest of which sometimes is seen rising to Rs. 8100 per year⁴. The holy Sesamum of Makar Sankrant and clothes were exchanged between the Peshwas and the Swami. We find the Swami once sending clothes to Kashibai, Raghunathrao, Janardanpant and NanaSaheb.⁵

1 PBCL 281

1a SPY 32. DCHM 20/34, 35, 39, 989

2 IBID 20/37,451 SPD 9/22

3 & 4 PBCL 273 and PBCL 81

5 DCHM 20/750, PBCL 291

Bajirao and Chimaji were the most trusted disciples of the Swami.¹ Bajirao was always hard up. Whenever the Swami reminded him of his dues Bajirao wrote long and apologetic letters to the Swami.² The Swami regarded these two brothers as the mythological brothers Rama and Laxman. Day and night the Swami wished success for these brothers, which he thought, would automatically spread his fame.³

It is said that once Chimaji put the whole of their valuables before the Swami at Poona. But he returned it generously.⁴ The Swami proudly told all that both the brothers told him that whatever wealth they possessed belonged to him (i.e. the Swami). "They are so faithful" writes the Swami "that if I ask them to give their lives for me, they will promptly comply with.⁵ The Swami always asked that they should inform him about every activity of theirs "I belong to your family" he once wrote, " why then are you not writing me? I have got no other friend nearer than you."⁶

1. DCHM 12/1029
2. PBCI 30, 31, 32
3. Ibid 275.
4. Ibid 148
5. Ibid 310
6. DCHM 20/451

It appears that once Shahu was displeased with Bajirao. The Swami advised him not to yield easily to the Chhatrapati.¹

Sometimes the Swami got angry with Bajirao. Once he told Bajirao, "I have got no money. None should borrow from me." His usual threat of leaving the place and going somewhere else was also sometimes pronounced, to secure favours from Bajirao.² The Swami once was so much cross with Bajirao that he refused to accept the clothes of honour sent by Bajirao at the time of his Samadhi. But Shahu consoled him and brought about the conciliation.³ The deaths of Bajirao and Chimaji Appa in 1740 were terrible blows to him. He was much grieved and even contemplated suicide.⁴

Next to Bajirao and Chimaji we find the Swami corresponding with Bhau aged 14 years. Raghunathrao, a boy of ten years, also writes occasionally to the Swami.⁵ The Swami however felt the difference between the behaviour of Nana Saheb Peshwa and that of his parents. He reminded Nana Saheb and Sadoba that they were not as sincere as their parents were.⁶ Nana Saheb was not as insincere as the Swami thought him to be. But he was not devoted to him.^{7 *}

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|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. SPD 9/22 | 5. PBCL 85 |
| 2. PBCL 269, 272. | 6. Ibid 292. |
| 3. R.III 340. | 7. DCHM 20/988, 989 |
| 4. PBCL 141. | |

* The Swami had no part in the Bassein campaign except occasional blessings to Chimaji.

iii) Nobility.

When the Swami was in the Konkan he appears to have been acquainted with the Maratha noblemen in that region. Appaji Angre corresponded with the ministers of Sawantwadi state. The Swami was friendly with Appaji Angre. It is likely that the Swami was also acquainted with the chiefs of Sawantwadi.¹ The Swami was friendly with the Mohites and Shirkes. Kanhoji Shirke Shahu's father-in-law was honoured by the Swami as king and he is seen requesting the Queen to favour Kanhoji. Kanhoji confided / ^{with} the Swami even secret matters.² The Swami regarded his friendship with Pilaji Jadhav of two births - one in the Konkan and the other on the Desha. The Swami marked Pilaji's progress since Balaji Vishwanath and was jealous of his enormous wealth of two crores. In a letter to Manaji the Swami calls Pilaji, an imposter. The mutual taunts in their correspondence are worth noting. Once the Swami wrote, "It is God who gives the money and it is God who asks for it." He further wrote, "I know a little, you are my mate of two births," Pilaji returned, "God himself knows whether he knows much or little. A devotee is not a mate of one birth alone. God and the devotee are from the beginning of the world." Pilaji's mother was a credulous woman and regarded the Swami as guru and often corresponded with him.³

1. Pingulkar A History of Sawantwadi State Letters 60,61.

2. PBCL 212.

3. Ibid 181, 183, 301.

It appears that the Swami was familiar with the sardars who were partisans of Tarabai. The name of Damaji Thorat occurs in his correspondence. After his death the Swami insisted on Peshwa Bajirao and Chimaji Appa to look after Damaji's wife Radhubai and his son Mansing. Udaji Chavan and Ghorpade were also well acquainted with the Swami.¹ Chimaji Damodar Moghe was familiar with the family of the Peshwas and also with the Swami. Only one letter of Chimnaji is available ~~with~~^{to} us which gives the news of the Nizam's camp in Poona in 1728.²

Peshwa's sardars owed double allegiance to the Swami, as the Swami was respected by both the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati. Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde occasionally wrote to the Swami. As usual the Swami secured clothes, cattle and money from them. Malharrao believed that the marriages in his family were due to the Swami's grace. His wife Gautamabai, therefore, sent clothes and pearls to the Swami. How the Swami praised Malharrao deserves mention. He writes, "You are my most intimate devotee. Unfortunately we have been separated. I told your wife that I would take anything but wealth. You have kept me away but I have not left you."³

Peshwa's deputies in Shahu's court at Satara were the

1. R.III 175, PBCL.

2. Ibid 15.

3. PBCL 299.

Purandares. Ambaji Trimbak, Mahadaji Ambaji and Malhar Tukdeo wrote many letters to the Swami. As they were very near Dhavadshi and everything passed to and from the Swami to the Peshwas through them, they were in constant touch with the Swami. Malhar Tukdeo appears to be more friendly with the Swami, than other members of the Purandare family. The Purandares occasionally kept the Swami informed of the Peshwa brothers' activities.¹

Peshwa's subhedars in the Konkan, Shankaraji Keshav Phadke and Ramaji Mahadeo Biwalkar were also kept in touch by the Swami. Shankaraji secured rich clothes for the Swami from Bombay and Ramaji Mahadeo sent thousands of cocoanuts to him whenever he demanded them.²

Bapuji Sripat Chitrap, Peshwa's commandant of the Fort Purandar was writing many letters to the Swami. The Swami regarded the Peshwa's fort as his own and sent his debtors as prisoners to this fort. The kind of treatment to be given to these prisoners is also instructed by the Swami.³ As Purandar was very near Pimpri the Swami ordered Bapuji Sripat to send him a palanquin or a camel to carry him to Dhavadshi. Whenever there was a 'samaradhana' at the Swami's place at Bhuleshwar or Dhavadshi, Bapuji sent maunds of curds and milk. From one of Bapuji's letters it

1. PBCL 175, 176, 299.

2. DCHM 20/1023, 1025.

3. Ibid 20/629, 631, 633, 649.

is seen that once Bapuji failed to keep his appointment with the Swami for which the Swami wrote to him, " You have not deceived me so far. But today I have seen that you write one thing and do another." Poor Bapuji had to apologise to the Swami for his mistake.¹

Peshwa's karbhari (secretary) Jivaji Krishna Deorukhe also is seen transacting business with the Swami, on behalf of the Peshwa. On the occasion Jivaji had to sustain the wrath of the Swami for backing and prohibiting one of the Swami's debtors from payment. The Swami ordered Chimaji to take Jivaji to task and even expressed that he would burn Jivaji's house if he would disobey him.² Jivaji Krishna's family later appears to have been imprisoned on the fort Purandar perhaps by the order of the Swami.³

Angre's sardars Raghunath Hari Gupte and Bakaji Naik Mahadik were in close contact with the Swami. Raghunath Hari seems to have borrowed some money from the Swami. - Bakaji was usually at Suvarnadurga and whatever goods were received by him from Kolaba were despatched by him to the Swami. We find him sending mangoes, jackfruit, tiger-skins, rice ghee etc. to the Swami. Bakaji was a brave soldier and the Swami proudly called him Hanuman and congratulated him when he repulsed the Siddi's attack on Parshuram in the Janjira

1. DCHM 20/626

2. Ibid 20/122

3. PBCL 145, 152.

war.¹ Rajwade regards Raghunath Hari and Bakaji as the agents of the Swami under the Angres who fanned the mutual rivalry of the Angre brothers. After all they were servants. They might have taken sides but they do not appear to be agents of the Swami.² Bakaji appears to be jealous of Sayaji Kanoje who was shown more favour by the Swami.³

When the Swami was at Parshuram and even after coming to Dhavadshi he had made Rasalgad fort his deposit house. The commandants of this fort, Dharoji and Sambhaji Shinde and Tanaji Naik Chalke were in frequent correspondence with the Swami. About fifty letters of Sambhaji Shinde to the Swami are extant. While leaving Parshuram the Swami had kept his papers, treasure and money on the fort Rasalgad. The Swami despatched his letters and goods to his dependents Angres and the Siddis through Sambhaji. weapons, jackfruit and labourers were secured by the Swami from Sambhaji. Sambhaji too received several things of necessity from the Swami.⁴ Sambhaji was not only an obedient commandant but a devout devotee of the Swami. He worshipped the Swami's consecrated feet (Padukas) at Rasalgad. His wife Nimbai too sometimes writes to the Swami.⁵ The Swami had entrusted his treasure while

1. R.III 305

2. Ibid Pr.p. 160

3. DCHM 12/337 A

4. Ibid 20/1057, 1063.

5. Ibid 532, 533.

leaving Parshuram to Sambhaji. Whenever he needed anything from it he asked Sambhaji to send the same. Sambhaji was from the Swami's point of view a faithful servant. In 1734 we find Sambhaji's successor Tanaji Naik Chalke returning the following treasure to the Swami:-

| | | |
|---------|------|---|
| Net Rs. | 6615 | Gold bracelet weighing $\frac{1}{4}$ seer and |
| Mohors | 156 | some brass and copper utensils. |
| Hons | 21 | |
| Putalis | 57 | |

Whenever the Swami required tigerskins or elk-shoes he asked them from Sambhaji.¹

Next to the Angres Pawars were very familiar with the Swami. Bubaji's sons Udaji, Anandrao and Anandrao's son Yeshwantrao, and Maloji and Jagjivan Pawar were all very intimate with the Swami. Jagjivan Pawar was once taken to task for drunkenness, and for appropriating his mother's wealth. Maloji believed his daughter and son were born through the blessings of the Swami. Khanderao Dabhade objected to his daughter's marriage with Pilaji Gaikwad's son because Pilaji had an inferior status being a kunbee by caste. But Pilaji offered to give an elephant loaded with wealth to the Swami and immediately the Swami brought about the marriage. This

1. It is surprising to note that Sardesai's Historical Genealogies totally overlooks Maloji Pawar an important person in the Pawar family.

example illustrates the Swami's main object of earning money by bringing about matrimonial settlements. Comparing Udaji Pawar to Arjuna, the Swami highly commended his valour in the siege of Raigad in the Janjira War when he killed Siddi Ambar Afwani.¹ The Swami recommended Udaji Pawar to Chimaji and Bajirao. Yeshwantrao Pawar had borrowed Rs.10,000 from the Swami and sent him several things. He many times got fed up of the Swami's reminders for money. Once when the Swami pressed him for money, he had to borrow from one Savkar from Nasik for the Swami's payment.² It is said Yeshwantrao was a very debaucherous man. But what has a savkar to do with the debtor's character?³

It has already been seen that the Swami had very close contact with the Queens. It was natural that he should be well acquainted with the officers in the royal retinue. Mahadaji Salunkhe, Devrao Meghashyam Lapate, Shahu's bastard Yesaji Bhonsale and Viroobai's foster-brother Basvantrao Khoja are seen corresponding with the Swami. For getting money from Viroobai the Swami praised Basappa that he was a great pious and meritorious person in the last birth; that was why he was wealthy. But this praise was of no avail because Viroobai and the Chhatrapati did not sanction the money. Yesaji is addressed by the Swami as 'Chiranjeev'.

1. DCHM 20/635, 641, 938.

2. Ibid 20/572, R.III 45.

3. R.III 46.

The Swami secured Mouje Rile tarf Shirale for the maintenance of a palanquin, as grant from Yesaji.¹

Raghaji Bhonsale is also seen paying compliments to the Swami. The Swami proudly wrote to Kashibai, Raghaji's mother that Raghaji's grandfather Bapuji and uncle Santaji were released by him from the Siddi's confinement through the efforts of Balaji Vishwanath, though Ramaji Kolhatkar also takes the credit of Bapuji and Santaji's release upon himself. Kashibai devoutly believed that Raghaji's prosperity was due to the Swami's good wishes.²

From the Nimbalkar family of Phaltan we find Janoji Mudhoji Sagunabai and Rajasbai writing to the Swami. Janoji regarded the Swami as Rama and once sent him four cows. Mudhoji granted the village Raodi and requested him to treat it as annuity. It appears the Swami had a quarrel with the Patil of Raodi also. Because Mudhoji writes to him, "Please try to cooperate with the Patil and carry on the harvest of the village."³ From Rajasbai's letter to the Swami it appears that the Swami conveyed certain information in a code to his favourites for punishing his enemies.⁴

Though outwardly the Swami kept up relations with all the sardars, he was genuinely the partisan of the Peshwa. Parasnisi is of the opinion that "As the Sardars found that the Swami was

1. PBCL 262, 350, 15; DCHM 20/197, 20/949.

2. Ibid 296, 297, SAP 434.

3. Ibid 198, 200; DCHM 20/588.

4. PBC p.108

capable of getting done anything from the Chhatrapati they approached the Chhatrapati through the Swami. To remove the displeasure of the Chhatrapati by diplomatic means or to take counsel in political matters or to recommend some one to the Chhatrapati the Swami became an excellent medium for the Sardars. As the Swami was unselfish, frank and a benefactor of the Swarajya he had a great influence upon Shahu. Devout persons aspired the Swami's favour for both spiritual and temporal matters. The result was the expansion of the Maratha empire."¹ Parashnis' remark is only half truth. It was true the Swami was a medium and his favour was demanded in spiritual and temporal not true matters. It is however/~~anything but say~~^{the} truth that the Maratha empire expanded as a result of/Swami's activities. The other ministers from Shahu's court showed only outward courtesy and respect to the Swami, because he was in good books with the powerful Peshwa and the Chhatrapati. Srinivasrao Pratinidhi was the leader of the opposition to the Peshwa. He was a religious man. Still he was not on good terms with the Swami. His men collected Chavanpatti & Inampatti in the Swami's villages for which the Swami had to complain to the Chhatrapati.² The main reason was Sripattrao was under no obligation of the Swami.³ Yamaji Shivdeo, the deputy of the Pratinidhi had to deal with the Swami in many ways. His sphere of activity extended to Konkan also. The Swami had to beg of him the permit for his bullocks carrying

1. PBC p.37

2. R.III 11.

3. Satarchya Pratinidhi Gharanyacha Itihasa pp.150.

goods from the Konkan. Many times the Swami reproached him but shrewdly praised him for getting his things done.¹

Bajirao did not trust other ministers at Satara. He once remarked to the Swami, "I don't wish to go to Satara. What can I do there? All the ministers will suppress me and do their business." The Swami called them sinners and villains of Satara and instigated Bajirao that they were bent upon ruining him.² The Swami tried to impress on others that all the ministers respected him. It was however far from truth. Naro Shankar Sachiv, it is known granted the village Malshiras to the Swami. Parasnus has praised him. But the Swami had brought pressure on the Sachiv from different sources. He pressed on Udaji Pawar to make efforts for it.³ The real situation behind the grant of the village could be seen from the Sachiv's letter to Bapuji Ganesh Tambe, "It was stipulated between us that you should make no mention of the three hundred Rupees given by you. Still the Gosavi misrepresented the matter to the king and is demanding the money. If you wished to betray me why did you pay me the money? We gave the titles of the village because you paid us. You will now have to pay the money again.⁴ The Sachiv's contemptuous term 'Gosavi' like that of Siddi Sad must be noted here. Moreover the Sachiv is directly charging the Swami for misrepresentation! On the other hand the Swami proudly writes to Chimaji that the Sachiv granted him the village.

1. PBCL 370, 371.

2. Ibid 268, 287.

3. Ibid 305.

4. DCHM 20/358.

It can easily be seen that the Swami is not writing the truth. The letter throws a new light on the Swami's securing of the village Malshiras from the Sachiv. The Sachiv, it seems, had bestowed the village but under duress.¹

Whenever the Sardars came to Satara they paid a visit to the Swami for their selfish motives. The Swami, it seems, never missed such an opportunity of sending some fruit as grace to the Sardars. One list of 1728 shows that the Swami had sent jackfruit to Khanderao Dabhade, Udaji Pawar, Maloji Pawar, Pilaji Gaikwad, Kanthaji Kadam and Dewji (Dewalji ?) Somawanshi.²

It is seen that the Swami sometimes praised Khanderao Dabhade and sometimes prejudiced the Peshwa's mind against him. After Trimbakrao's death in the Battle of Dabhai in 1731 the Swami congratulated Bajirao in a letter to Sekhoji Angre saying that 'the world belongs to the victor.' While in one of his letters to Umabai Dabhade, the Swami writes, "Your enemy the Brahmin will soon be destroyed." We very much hope that that 'Brahmin' mentioned by the Swami was not Bajirao! Umabai was one of the dear and near devotees of the Swami. When ever she honoured the Swami he paraded the act before others. It appears the Swami personally went to Talegaon many times as her honourable guest. Umabai appears to be borrowing money

1. PBCL 28

2. DCHM 20/822.

from the Swami.¹ Khanderao's brother Krishnaji Dabhade and his son Somaji Dabhade were well acquainted with the Swami.² Rajwade thinks that the Swami fomented discord between the Dabhade brothers also.

Besides there are letters not very important from Janoji Dhamdhere, Subhanji Naik, Suryawanshi Sarlashkar, Dawalji³ Somwanshi, Haibatrao Somwanshi, Sultanji and Rambhaji Nimbalkar and Trimbakrao Pethe.³

To conclude it can be said that the Swami corresponded with a good number of Maratha Sardars of his time. Some of these were familiar with the Swami. Many of them sent necessary things through devotion or through diplomacy (to secure some favours!). To some of these the Swami advanced loans also. Nowhere we find the Sardars conferring political matters with the Swami as Parasnus says. It cannot be said that the Swami made attempts to bring them together. We find several examples when the Swami fanned discord, - becoming a partisan of one of the rival groups. He prejudiced the minds of the Peshwas against other ministers and set one Sardar against other.⁴ His contacts with the

1. DCHM 20/451, 938; R.III 249. R.III Pr. p. 187.

2. PBCL 304.

3. Ibid 206, 209, 210.

4. Ibid 326, 268, DCHM 20/451, 1034.

rivals of the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati such as Udaji Chavan, the Thorats were only from selfish and opportunist point of view. He had no sense of the unity of the Maratha nation against the Moslims. On the contrary he praised Aurangzeb's rule and criticised Shahu's state.² Rambhaji and Sultagi Nimbalkar, Chandrasen Gaikwad etc. went over to the Nizam and still could live comfortably was a commendable act from the point of view of the Swami.³ It is unjust therefore to impute noble motives upon the Swami.

2

It is very interesting to note that some important contemporary personalities kept themselves aloof from the Swami. It was true some of them were inimical to him. Babuji Naik Baramatikar and Chandrasen Jadhav belonged to this group. One letter of Gangadhar Yeshwant (Chandrachud) is extant. There is one more letter of one Govind Khanderao.⁴ Whether he is Chitnis we cannot say. The Chitnis family, Govind Hafi Patwardhan, Sakharan Bapu Bokil the Bhanus these sardars do not at all seem to be writing to the Swami. It appears Chandrasen Jadhav & Sidoji Nimbalkar very seldom paid a visit to the Swami. Once when they paid the visit the Swami in one of his letters, instructs his clerk to get the information with what intention they came to Dhavadshi.⁵ Many other Sardars also remained away from the Swami.

1. R.III 176
2. PBCL 280
3. Ibid 304
4. DCHM 20/546,696.

iv) Dependents.a) Clerks.

A few years after his revelation at Parshuram, the Swami began to collect a band of dependents around him. With the grant of the village Pedhe and Ambdas from the Siddi in 1708 the Swami secured one efficient clerk from the Siddi whose name was Bapujipant Tambe.¹ Bapuji's sister Radhabai Bhagwat was the wife of Krishnaji Ballal, Kulkarni of Mouje Sonavde taluke Sangameshwar.² Chimnaji was suffering from a severe stomach-ache for which his mother worshipped the deity of Devrukh which advised her to go to Parshuram. Both Radhabai and Chimnajipant devoutly served and worshipped the Swami who, it is said, relieved Chimnaji from the ailment of his stomach. Chimnaji gradually won the favour of the Swami who afterwards made him his disciple.³ For the repairs of the Parshuram temple the Swami ordered Chimnaji to bring the mortar from fort Mahipatgad, which it was said, was lying there since the days of the great Shivaji. Chimnajipant was allotted the work of the treasurer with 4 Rs. per month and -----

1. SKBC p.7
2. Parasnisi wrongly states the name of the Taluka as Sangamner, which is not in the Konkan but in the Nagar District on the Desha.
3. PBC pp. 11-12.

Bapujipant that of the accountant (phadnis) on Rs. 5 per month. Chimnaji was married to the daughter of one Dhondopant Sapre. Chimnaji's cousins Sambhajipant and Antajipant were also employed by the Swami when he secured the villages on the Desha. Bapuji's cousin Dhondopant Tambe was brought from Kalyan & was given the work of the secretary on Rs.4 p.m. The management of the Swami's estate at Parshuram and later at Dhavadshi was entrusted to ~~g~~ these clerks. The Swami cared so much for them as if they were members of his family and regarded them almost like his own soul.¹ He treated them equally and always addressed them jointly.²

When the Swami secured Anewadi, Virmade and Dhavadshi from the Chhatrapati in 1721, he sent two of his clerks ahead to manage these villages. Local men also were appointed.³ The other clerks were sent in 1727 after Siddi Sad's raid on Parshuram. The family priests of Tambe and Bhagwats, Nawathe, Rambhat Anturkar, Moghe and the servants also accompanied the clerks.

Chimnajipant, Bapujipant and Dhondopant were always addressed by the Swami as ' Trivarga' (Trio). As the trio

1. R.III 114

2. Ibid.

3. PBC p. 19

hailed from the Konkan they always were eager to return to their native place. The Swami's one and the only anxiety was to make them stay on the Desha which he accomplished by two means. He continuously wrote them letters, and satisfied their material needs. Rice, sugar, jaggery honey, utensils rafters every thing they needed was supplied to and equally divided between the three by the Swami.¹ Even then the clerks many times pined for their homes in the Konkan. The Swami therefore had a recourse to threats and oaths. Binding them by an oath he wrote to Dhondopant, " You, Radha and Bapu should not think of coming down to the Konkan. " The Swami's practical hints given to his clerks make us think whether these are given by a sanyasin or a practical Grihastha. He asked them to make a survey of lands at Dhavadshi and Virmade. He wrote to Dhondopant, " I have sent back your men to you. Catch hold of the wethas (forced labourers) from Anewadi, Virmade and Dhavadshi and build your houses and live comfortably. Don't worry about anything. Nothing will be wanting for you.² It is not important that Government houses may be built. Collect the 1000 rafters from Morni and Induli and build your homes which might keep your names behind. Look to your own needs."³ In another letter he wrote to the trio, "Sugar

1. R.III 114, 116, 129.

2. Ibid 105.

3. Ibid 118, 119.

has been sent to you. Collect and purchase bundles of dried leaves for the roofs of the houses. Protect the houses from dust and wind. Purchase grapes of Rupee one and distribute them to the three children. For heaven's sake don't send them down to the Konkan. Get prepared two hundred rows of cow dung cakes as fuel.¹ Three maunds of joggery has been sent to all the three of you. Keep two dogs. I am sending one person as a watchman.² He insisted on them to purchase two guns for self defence.² The Swami then sent Ambaji Ghatge as watchman. He wrote, " Ambaji has been sent to you. He will do the work of watch and ward at night. He is quite clever. Pay him Rs. 4 per month, which may be paid either in cash or in kind. Look after him. Supply him vegetables milk etc. whatever he needs. Give him a wooden cot for sleeping."³ To Ambaji the Swami ordered, " You are appointed at Dhavadshi. Work carefully. Cook yourself or take your meals at Chafi's place. You will get Rs.4 p.m. The Swami's instructions regarding business matters are worth noting here. The clerks had to do a lot of correspondence for the Swami. Letters to different sardars, to the Siddis of Rajpuri, Anjanwel and Govalkot were written and sometimes personally taken by the clerks. The Swami wrote to Chimnajipant,

1. R.III 120.

2. Ibid 21

3. DCHM 20/847

"Send me immediately the gist of the Sarkhel's letter sent to you. Keep a night watchman for our vada. Don't be lazy. Make the people work. If nothing will be done by the potters of Deorukh and Lonje in respect of Lakhmoji Sutar, I shall punish them through Baburao (Vaidya?) at Ratnagiri. I shall send Deoji Somavanshi's letter which should be handed over to Jivaji Krishna. If Kharaksing will bring the horse from Malozi, bring it to me. Let me know if you have received the rupees from Krishnaji; Pawar or not. I have sent 700 betel-nut leaves. Be careful." In another letter to the 'trio' the Swami informs, " Pay Rs.2 each to the new servants, and give them 2½ seers of grain. If you have finished with the workers from Gothna, please send them back. Jotyaji is appointed in that party."¹ To tempt the clerks the Swami even many times distributed money to them as present. Once he gave Rs.15 each to Bapuji and Dhondopant and Rs.20 to Chimmajipant.² Chimmaji's mother wrote him again and again to come to his home in the Konkan. Chimmaji was wavering. The Swami wrote, "Inspite of my efforts you are still thinking of Konkan! Mind well, this place(Parshuram) is haunted; and life here is risky. All my endeavours moreover, in keeping you on the Desha will be futile."³

1. DCHM 20/858, 847, 960, 901.

2. R.III 105, DCHM 20/879.

3. DCHM 20/850, 12/1054.

Along with the yearnings of the clerks for their homes, the Swami had to face one more difficulty. The clerks vied with each other and quarreled among themselves. Bapuji and Dhondopant felt the partiality of the Swami for Chimnajipant. That was true. When the Swami marked this he warned them in his letter to Dhondopant, "Mind well. If you will give differential treatment to Chimnaji you will not get your bread. You and Bapu should regard Chimnaji as myself. Then only your families and progeny will have good days. Let me know if you have any need or difficulty. If anybody will try to poison your ears don't listen to him. You all have the same mother (i.e. the Swami)."¹ The Swami had many times to resort to threat. He wrote, "All of you are cousins and belong to the same caste. Why then are you quarreling amongst yourselves? If I hear that you quarrel again I shall leave this country and go somewhere else."² In another letter the Swami warned them all, "Anybody disobeying Jagannath will be courting my anger."³ The Swami, however, was partial. He had more affection for Chimnajipant than the other two. A story is told that the Swami loved Chimnajipant so much that during their journey from Parshuram to Dhavadshi the Swami personally bore Jagannath the little son of Chimaji on his shoulders for about two miles.⁴

1. R.III 108

2. Ibid 102

3. DCHM 20/843

4. SKBC p. 175

The Swami gave monetary help to his servants and clerks for their marriages and other ceremonies in the house. Bapuji was given a loan of Rs.2000 at the rate of 12½% per annum and Khadoji Rs.25 at the rate of 1½% per month. He gave employments to their relations and even exerted influence to get monetary help from the Peshwa for their ceremonies. To Bapujipant the Swami wrote, "Carry on the thread ceremony of Mahadu's son. I shall send the necessary things."¹

We find the Swami caring for his people as if they were members of one family. Once Bapujipant was having pain in his leg. The Swami consoled him, "I have sent you a horse in order that you may not feel discomfort. You should have engaged a person from Khambetki and come in a litter. I have sent two men from here with a littar(doli). Engage four persons from Khambetki and come here in a litter. You shall be cured after your arrival here."² Chimmaji had some trouble with his hands. The Swami wrote to him, "I am grieved to note your hands are not well. Don't forego your bread and butter. Get some medicine. If you will neglect yourself I shall abandon this place and go to Rameshwar."³

1. R.III 116,89. DCHM 20/590.

2. DCHM 20/908.

3. Ibid 20/883.

Radhabai's distant cousin Trimbak Krishna Moghe¹ and Chimnaji's cousins Antaji and Sambhaji were also employed by the Swami. Trimbakpant was kept at Gothana with a salary of Rs. 4 p.m. Trimbakpant formerly served the Siddi. Sambhaji first remained with the Swami at Parshuram. Antaji was appointed at Ambdas. Both were given Rs. 4 p.m. Antaji was later on transferred to Virmade and Anewadi.² Ganesh Ballal and Venkaji Bhaskar were two more clerks whose names we come across in the correspondence. Both were at Parshuram for some time.

We have already seen how the Swami's Karkhanas - i.e. Building parties had become efficient in their work and were in demand by all.³ But sometimes these people behaved arrogantly. Many times they demanded more rations and if not given, blocked the progress of the Swami's work. The Swami, therefore, had once to refuse the sanction for more rations for the workers of Gothana. "If they demand more, wrote the Swami, " dismiss them". While at other time he had to increase the wages of the workers brought from Nevasa. The Swami wrote to the trio, " These workers are rogues.

1. PBC pp.11,16. Once Parasnus says that Bapuji was Radhabai's brother and at other place he states that Trimbak Krishna Moghe was also her brother. The fact appears to be that Moghe is a distant cousin of Radhabai.

2. SKBC pp.11,17,27.

3. See Chap. 4(1).

Had they served sincerely you would have been able to finish the building of your houses by now. Dismiss those who will not obey you."¹ At Tathavada near Phaltan the Swami's men built a well. Some of the workers from the party played mischief with the Brahmin ladies from that place for which the Swami took Ramaji and Sultanbhai to task.²

Chimnajipant Bhagwat died in 1740.³ When Nana Saheb became the Peshwa, the Swami ordered him to give Rs. 200 per annum to Jaggannath Chimnaji who worked at Purandar for sometime. The amount was later on increased by Rs. 100 at Satara. Jagannathpant used to recite with the Swami at Dhavadshi. Jagannathpant was kept at Gothana also for some time.⁴ It was the Swami's desire to nominate Jagannath as his heir to his estate after him. Shahu wrote to him, "Being unhappy you wrote, 'on this earth man's life is - temporary. Why should you worry about your succession ? Jagannath will be our Guru."⁵ To Jagannath he wrote, "I exert so much for you. I treated Chimnaji as my son. Alas! He has left us. This is a mortal world. Man's life here is transitory. You are my son and you are my pupil. Whatever

1. R.III 116,119.

2. DCHM 20/669, 908.

3. PBC p.123.

4. PBCL 156,165; R.III 49,84.

5. Ibid 5.

wealth and villages I have earned, belongs to you. Let it be enjoyed by you and your family. No body will trouble you. Don't worry. Shahu has promised to look after you after my death. One who will harass you will have his family extinct."¹ Queen Sagunabai sanctioned Rs.300 after the Swami's death for the marriage of the daughter of Jagannathpant, and appointed his son Krishnaji Jagannath as 'Surnis' on Rs.500 per annum.²

When the Swami was dying, it was Jagannathpant who cared and nursed him. His mother Gopikabai gave the Swami last cup of whey.³

b) Servants.

The Swami had several servants who worked as messengers and peons and also as watchmen on his building works, and estates. Govind Keshav Nene, Bhikaji Sankpal, Khandoji Salvi, Naroji Juvekar, Lakhmoji Salvi, Kedarji Dongarrao, Kamloji Waghmare, Ambaji Ghatge, Naroji Ghanekar, Nimbaji Toraskar, Bhavoji Havaldar, Lakhmoji Kothiwala, Harji Naik, Somaji Ghanekar, Girjoji, Ramaji Ganesh, and Laxman Ganesh were the names of some of his servants. There was one Mohammedan servant also, named Sultanbhai. Khandoji Salvi

1. R.III 22.

2. DCHM 20/1037, 1045.

3. SKBC p.25

appears to be most trustworthy and an old servant of the Swami. During his early days in the Konkan, when the Swami started for his tour of Bhiksha, Khandoji was the ensign of the Swami.¹ Chhatrapati Shahu, Peshwa and the sardars knew these servants well and exchanged messages to the Swami through them. We find Shahu making enquiry about Khandoji's health.²

However harsh the Swami might have been to these servants he fed them, and in return commanded their allegiance. Once when the Swami was seriously ill, Lakhmoji Salvi made enquiries writing to the Trio, "We are sorry to know that the Swami is not well; You did not write anything about his illness. We have sent Naroji to make enquiries. When the Swami will be hale and hearty we will be happy. Otherwise none will care for us. Employ all the human and superhuman agencies. A feast to the Brahmins and 'anusthanas' will induce God to bring relief to the Swami."³

The Swami was a strict businessman. He managed temporal i.e. household matters far better than spiritual and political matters. He insisted on his servants for economical expenditure. He writes to Lakhmoji Salvi Havaldar, "Rs. 3,640 have been sent to you. Till Simga (The Saturalia

1. PBC p. 20

2. PBCL 88,133.

3. DCHM 12/409

of the Hindus -- Spring harvest festival falling on the full-moon day of Falgun, the last Hindu month) you should not demand money. Spend economically. Your expenditure is going beyond bounds. Mind I shall break my head upon you. Don't harass me."¹ All the servants feared the Swami's wrath. Ramaji and Sultanbhai once wrote to Chimnajipant that he should save them from the wrath of the Swami, -- 'because,' they thought, 'he would not hesitate to disgrace us before all. He gets angry without caring to listen to any of our arguments. Bapujipant also is seen fearing the wrath of the Swami because of the death of the Swami's buffalo."² This remark shows that senility was having its effect upon the Swami's later years.

The families of Chimnajipant and Bapujipant are still continuing as the managers of the Swami's estate at Dhavadshi in so far as it continues today. Successors of Khandoji Salvi also are still in Dhavadshi. After the Swami's death Shahu honoured all his dependents including his servants.³ Jagannathpant lived upto the tenure of Madhavrao II and Bapujipant ended his life at the beginning of nineteenth century. Jagannathpant appears to be complaining to -

1. DCHM 20/939.

2. R.III 82, 113.

3. SKBC p.35

Nanasaheb Peshwa and Bausaheb about the negligence of the Swami's estate after him. The debtors evaded the payments and the men of Swami's karkhanas did not get their wages for months.¹

Some of these servants were mischief-mongers. Mathurabai Angre and Tulaji appear to be complaining against Naroji and one other servant - whose name is not mentioned - who were doing the work of tale-bearing, and poisoning the ears of their master - the Swami² against the members of the Angre family.

c) Maid-servants.

It was a custom among the Maratha nobility of the eighteenth century to keep maid servants in the house. The Swami, though he professed himself a spiritualist, and a life celibate, possessed the paraphernalia of a Maratha nobleman of those days. It was, therefore, natural that he had his maids. The Swami had nearabout twenty maid servants some of whom were at Gothana and some at Dhavadshi. One Champi was at Rasalgad.³ The names of the maids were Sajani, Krishni, Yeshi, Nayani, Radhi (Rahi ?) Godi, Nathi, ~~Gangi~~, Gangi,

1. PBC pp. 133-131.

2. R.III 294

3. Ibid 339.

Yashoda, Soni, Laxmi, Manki, Navsi, Nagi,¹ Anandi,² Bali,³ Chaphi and Lingi.⁴ Some of these maids were received by the Swami as presents from Kanhoji and Sekhoji Angre, Queen Sagunabai, Anandrao Pawar, Thorat, Malharrao Holkar and Raghaji Bhonsale. It was all right so far as the Swami received these maids as presents. But the Swami himself is also seen asking maids from Thorats and Shivaji Shankar.⁵

When the buildings at Dhavadshi were completed, rooms were provided for the maids. The exact nature of the work allotted to these maids in the Swami's matha cannot be ascertained from the correspondence. It is not improbable that part of the enormous demands in cash and kind made by the Swami upon his devout devotees was utilised for the welfare of his dependents - the clerks, servants, maids etc. It has been seen ~~once~~^{once} that the Swami gave one cow to Krishni and a she-buffalo to Navsi presented to him by Malharrao Holkar.⁶ Anandi was sent to a pilgrimage and given Rs.200

1. PBC p.124

2. PBCL 324, R.III 378.

3. DCHM 12/517

4. Ibid 20/879,1032.

5. PBCL 207, DCHM 20/925.

6. DCHM 20/904, 12/641 A.

for expenditure.¹

These maids it appears, sometimes created worries for the Swami by their behaviour. Anandi and Radhi ran away to Gothana after a quarrel with the Swami.² Sajani the main-servant presented by Malharrao Holkar became according to the Swami gluttonous, arrogant, and rowdy. The Swami wished to return her to her former owner instructing Ramaji Ganesh to keep her in check.³ About Lingi the Swami wrote that she was a sinner and asked the Queen to keep her away to escape evil.⁴ Once the maids were purchased or presented to the Swami, it was difficult to get them back by their former owners. When Queen Sagunabai once asked for a maid from the Swami, he wrote, "I have sent four men from my staff. You have got the whole world under the sky under your influence. You desire to have maids. You will get hundreds of maids. You should not be in need of anything. are Why then/you asking for my particular maid? One girl has already been sent to you by me. Treat her carefully. She will serve you. She will not break her promises.⁵ The Swami refused to return the maids demanded by the Queen

1. DCHM 20/1044

2. For details see Chap. 3 a.

3. The Swami says she had become 'toophani'. The word 'toophani' in the writings of a sanyasin is objectionable.

DCHM 20/905.

4. DCHM 20/1073, 1032.

5. Ibid 20/1073.

Sagunabai and Sambhaji Angre.¹ Raghujji Bhonsle also complained to the Swami for returning the maid because she belonged to one Brahmin who had started fasting for her.²

Both the Swami and the maids feared that they might not be treated well by the Swami's successors. The Swami with an oath, therefore issued an order binding his successor/and a curse. " Sajani was serving me. One who will be depriving her of any of her belongings or trouble her, will have his family extinct. He will always be suffering. If she will stay near my samedhi and do the work of cleaning, my estate managers will maintain her. I am binding one who will disobey me with an oath that his mother will be credited with a heinous offence if he acts otherwise."³ Along with this order Queen Sagunabai took it upon herself the future maintenance of the fourteen maids of the Swami.

1. DCHM 20/694

2. Ibid 20/551 A.

3. PBC pp. 124-125.

V) The End of the Swami.

In 1745 the Swami had become nearly ninetysix years old. His health was gradually giving way. His body had become too weak.¹ His annual Samadhi was becoming a difficult performance for him. In about 1738 in a letter to Bajirao the Swami wrote, " This year's Samadhi was most difficult for me. It made me weak" Though he went into his Samadhi as usual he was not confident that he would see it through.² It is said Queen Sagunabai had requested him not to go for the Samadhi to Virmade, as it would be very harmful to his broken health.³ But the Swami paid no attention and went to Virmade as usual after taking a cupful of whey from Gopikabai the mother of Jagannathpant. He rode with Jagannath to his place of Samadhi. Before going into Samadhi he felt that he would not wake up successfully from the Samadhi.⁴ Eight days elapsed and on the ninth day i.e. 26th July 1745 the Swami commanded the watchman to open the door. He felt that the King and the Peshwa had come with a palanquin and an elephant to greet him.⁵ But it was a vision only. The Swami developed some trouble in the stomach and ordered the watchman

1 PBCL 276,274 DCHM 20/8651

2 IBID 290 SPD 9/22

3 SKBC p. 25

4 Ibid p. 26

5 Ibid p. 29

to bring honey and hemagarbha from Bhavadshi. He laid on the deerskin. When Jagannathpant came riding to Virmade with the medicines, the Swami was dead. News was conveyed to the Chhatrapati who it is said came there with his retinue and some ministers. The Swami's corpse was carried in a procession in a palanquin to Dhawadshi and was buried there with due ceremony.¹

1 SKBC pp. 31-32

CHAPTER V : THE SWAMI'S ACTIVITIES.

- i) Building Activity.
- ii) Fondness for Gardening.
- iii) Demands on his Followers
- iv) His Pecuniary Affairs.
- v) Miracles.

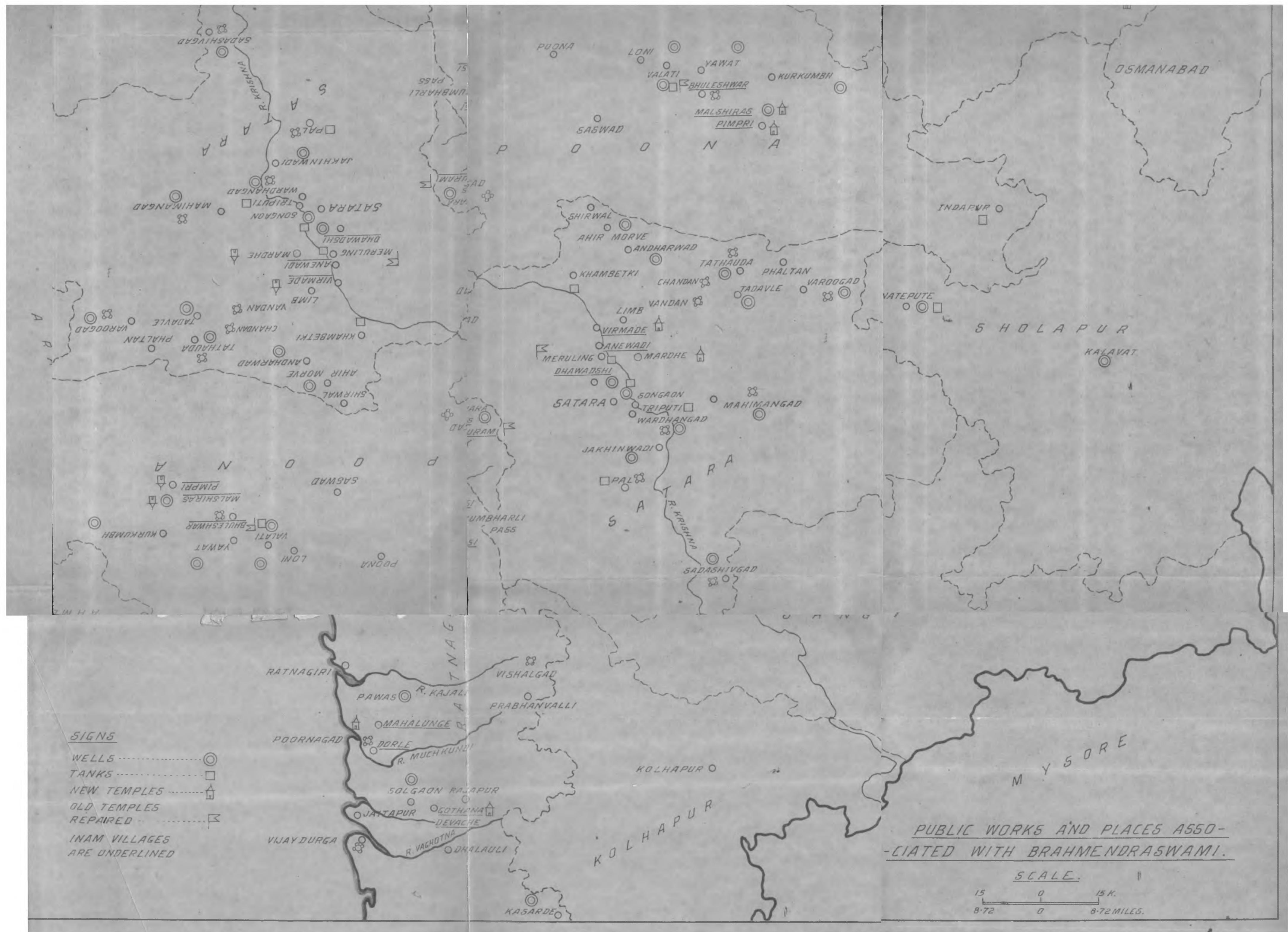
CHAPTER V.THE SWAMI'S ACTIVITIES.i) Building Activity.*In the**(Eighteenth century, Indians were religious minded.*

They spent more money on temples and religious sanctuaries than on private buildings and forts. In the Maratha state, there was no government department of public works and all public works such as river ghats, mountain roads wells and rest houses were built by public spirited citizens.

Brahmendra Swami was not an ordinary 'sanyasi'. He had amassed a fortune by sponging on the Maratha nobility and utilised part of it for building temples, wells and tanks. He personally took a deep interest in these building works and begged cash and kind from the Maratha nobility. We will see how he instructed Lakhmoji Havaldar at Malshiras for the building of the Bhuleshwar temple:

" Lakhmoji Havaldar at Malshiras is ordered hereby. I am satisfied with the report of the building work carried on by you so far. You should carry on the work in the following manner:—

" Get 20,000 bricks prepared at the rate of three and half rupees per 10,000.



" Near the well, in front of the peepal tree, build a trough 6 feet broad and 4 feet high with stone flooring for the cattle to drink water.

" Out of the three peaks of the temple (Bhuleshwar) only one should be made artistic. The other two may be kept plain with lime plastering. If you will make them artistic ; you will be taken to task.

" After completing the well, with the help of four stone-breakers complete the walls round the temple. When the bricks are ready, build the walls round the rest-house (dharmashala).

" Get the lime prepared by the charcoal burner. The temple and the rest house should have doors. The money will be paid later.

" Let me know when the well is completed.I shall personally come there and inspect everything.Keep one man to water the mango tree from the well.

" The work should be carried on in this manner. I am entirely relying on you. I am not feeling well. Money is not available. Don't trouble me. 1

If we visit Malshiras and Bhuleshwar today, we find the temple building exactly as the Swami had ordered. The well at Malshiras mentioned in the letter is a wonderful work of Maratha architecture. It impresses the visitor even today after two hundred years.¹ The three peaks of the Bhuleshwar temple and the 'dharmashala' could also still be seen.

The Swami was very strict in his business affairs. Ramaji Ganesh had been entrusted by the Swami to carry out the work of the tank at Talhavda. The Swami had sent him cash for payment to the workers at Talhavda. A complaint came to the Swami that the workers had not received their wages. The Swami took him ^(Ramaji) to task and called him immediately to Dhavadshi with all the account books.²

On account of his experience of many years the Swami's party of builders - charcoal burner, masons, stone breakers, etc. - had become quite efficient. Nimbaji Lonari the charcoal burner, prepared bricks for the Swami; Malharji was a stone breaker and Tulaji was the mason. Sambhaji Naik and Vyankaji Naik were expert architects who had built the Bhuleshwar temple.³ The Swami's men were in requisition

1. Photograph No. 25

2. DCHM 20/907

3. PBC p.128.

by the Siddi, the Peshwas, and the Chhatrapati. A party of stone breakers were asked for by Viroobai in 1721 from the Swami for building the well at Nimb, Shahu's private estate. The Siddi had sent for a party of stone breakers in 1727. Chhatrapati Shahu asked for ten stone diggers in 1729 for the building of his palace.¹ The Swami regarded these men as a sort of his private retinue. He once wrote to the officers of the fort Santoshgad, " In place of sons which other people have, I have my factories. You must take care of them".² It is possible that the Swami might have used these workers to earn profit for himself. The workers too many times blocked the progress of the work by unyielding their/demands. Workers engaged from Newasa and those working at Gothana had compelled the Swami to increase their ration and wages.³

The Swami's building works could be divided into three categories:

(i) Temples -

- a) Reconstruction and repairs of old temples.
 - b) New temples.
-

1. R.III 81, 17; DCHM 12/641 A, PBCL 253, PBC p.30.

2. DCHM 20/1087, PBC p.105.

3. R.III 116, 119.

ii) Works of public utility such as tanks and wells.

etc

iii) Construction and repair of roads.¹ On all these works the total expenditure amounted to nearly 10 lacs of rupees.¹

List of buildings constructed by the Swami.

The temples of Parshuram at Pedha in the Konkan, the Bhuleshwar temple at Yawat (26 miles from Poona), the Meruling temple near Dhavadshi and the Ganapati temple at Rajur near Jalna were old temples probably belonging to the Yadava period. The Swami superimposed new structure on these old temples. At Meruling, Rajur and Yawat, the remains of old temples can easily be traced.²

Parshuram:

The chief temple dedicated to Bhargavaram or Parshuram

1. PBC pp. 103-104. Parasnus has produced a list of only some important building works, on p.103. After the perusal of the modi copy of the list in the Deccan College Collection it was revealed that some of the figures of Parasnus were wrong. The detailed list with correct figures is reproduced in the Appendix. See Appendix E.

2. See Chap. 2.

is a central shrine surrounded by two smaller buildings. A yearly festival on the third day of the first fortnight of Vaishakh (April-May) is attended by three to four thousand people. Between the hills of Parshuram and the township of Chiplun is the creek of the river Vashisthi. The villages, Songaon, Dhamani and Parshuram are on these hills. The village Pedha is opposite Chiplun near the creek.¹

The temple of Parshuram was reconstructed. In addition the temples of Renuka, Ganapati, Maruti, 'Dharma-shala', verandahs to the dharmashala, pillars of light, and the audience hall of wood in front of the Parshuram temple all amounting to nearly 1 lac of rupees were completed. For the buildings at Parshuram the Swami brought the mortar This mortar was said to be lying there from Mahipatgad/lying since the days of Shivaji.

Dhavadshi.

Dhavadshi is situated about eight miles to the North-west of Satara. It cannot be said why the Swami chose this particular place for his permanent residence. The vicinity of this place to the shrine of Meruling seems to be the main reason for the choice of the Swami. It is said that the village formerly belonged to the 'dhavads' (blacksmiths) and was shifted to the present site by the Swami from its

1. Gazetteer of Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi Vol.10, p.355.

from its old position near the Hanuman temple.

A sum of Rs.2,21,000 seems to have been spent on 9 works at Dhavadshi. The details of the expenditure are given below:-

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| On wells ... | ... | ... | Rs. | 2,000 |
| Main samadhi ¹ | ... | ... | Rs. | 2,00,000 |
| Rampart round the residence of the his Swami, and/two clerks. Only the gate and part of the wall survive | | | | |
| today. ² | ... | ... | Rs. | 10,000 |

The following six smaller temples were built at Dhavadshi. Some of the deities installed there appear to be local deities.

i) Jani temple:- Rs. 500.

ii) Kalkai temple - Rs.500 :- On the west of Dhavadshi on the way to Meruling there is a small nala known as ' Kalkaicha Odha ', and Kalkai temple was built near this nala.

iii) Waghjai's temple - Rs.5000/-:- This is situated

1. DCHM 20/832.

2. See the photographs

to the north-east of Dhavadshi. We come across this temple on our right when we proceed towards Bhargavarama Mandir.

iv) Maruti temple - Rs.2000/- :- This is situated to the south-west of Dhavadshi.

v) Ganapati temple - Rs.500/- :- Meruling temple has two ascents - one from Kalkai's temple and the other through the Ganesh pass to the north of the village. The temple of Ganapati was built on the hill at the entrance of this pass.

vi) Ekvira temple - Rs.500/- :- The deity installed here appears to be the local deity of the 'dhavads'.

Meruling temple - Rs.10000 .

Meruling is about three miles from Dhavadshi. The hill is about 4054 feet high and the temple is surrounded by natural beauty. The temple appears to be an old one, probably belonging to the Yadava period. Remains of the old temple are scattered near about the temple which could be seen near the holy bull (Nandi).

The ancient temple of Meruling near Dhavadshi is situated at one of the loveliest sites in Maharashtra, and the view of the tank from the temple is very attractive.

A wall like a rampart was built round the temple and three tanks¹ were also constructed there.

Shri Rameshwar at Mardhe Rs. 50,000

This temple is built on the bank of river Krishna at Mardhe near Satara.

Shri Bhuleshwar temple near Malshiras Rs. 1,00,500.

One mile south-east of Yewat railway station and 27 miles east of Poona on Poona-Sholapur Road has three miles south on a hill a Yadava temple of Bhuleshwar of remarkable stone sculpture and carvings and an ancient well.² This original temple was superimposed by a new structure by the Swamy. For the reconstruction of the old temple a sum of Rs. 1 lac was spent. It is said that the Swami first desired to take 'Samadhi' (end his life) at Bhuleshwar and a place was selected by him for the purpose, but the Swami changed his mind at Shahu's request. The temple was formerly known as a fort named Daulatmangal. The Swami removed the mosque

1. PBCL 303, 305, 371
2. Gazetteer Poona District, Vol. 20 p. 687.
3. PBCL 137, 301, 305;

from the fort and built a new one near the tank on the south. Under the Swami's orders, Chimaji Appa proceeded to Bhuleshwar to inspect the work in progress. He writes, " I personally inspected the building work and the tank. The work is satisfactory. Water is also in plenty. I stayed for a couple of hours near the tank. I spoke to all the architects, masons and workers. I asked them to carry on the work carefully and warned them that carelessness and laziness would be punished.¹

Ganapati's temple at Rajur - Rs.20,000/-.

The building of this temple does not seem to have been completed during the Swami's lifetime, because the Swami's servant Ramaji Ganesh wrote in 1745 to the Peshwa about the progress of work from Rajur.² Rajur is about 18 miles from Jalna on the Jalna-Bhokardan road in the Aurangabad district. The old temple is dedicated to Mahadeo. Remains of this temple, - images and pieces of stone artwork - are scattered all over the hill. There is a Portuguese bell bearing the date 1722 in the temple. The bell is 12' high and its diameter is 12'. Every year there is a pilgrimage to this temple on Maghi Chaturthi and Sravana Chaturthi. There is a round circular pond now dried up with 150' as its diameter, and a well

1. PBCL 133.

2. R.III-94

built by the Swami.

Bhargava temple, Gothana Rs. 10,000

Mahadev temple, Poornagad Rs. 6,000.

Wagheshwar temple Pimpri. Rs.

II. Tanks and reservoirs.

(1) Meruling. Three tanks.

(2) Triputi - This is on the Satara - Koregaon Road about 7 miles from Satara. It appears that architects from Vrindavan were brought for the building of this tank.¹

(3) Dhavadshi 3 tanks. Rs. 30,000

(4) Pal near Ganesh ghat road 30,000

(5) Indapur Rs. 40,000

(6) Natepute Rs. 10,000

(7) Valati Rs. 1,000

(8) Hatale near Alibag Rs. 3,000

(9) Bhuleshwar² -

(10) Khamatki³ -

1. DCHM 12/264, 976.

2. Ibid 12/264, 976.

3. PBCL 305, DCHM 20/947.

III. Wells.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| Dhavadshi. | ... | Rs. | 2000 |
| Andhariavad near Shirwal | | Rs. | 2,000 |
| Malshiras ¹ | ... | Rs. | 7,000 |
| Pawas | ... | Rs. | 8,000 |
| Kurkumbh | ... | " | 5,000 |
| Yawat | ... | " | 4,000 |
| Wardhangad near Satara ² | | " | 2,000 |
| Kalavat near Mohol | | " | 1,000 |
| Varoogad near Dahiwadi | | " | 3,000 |
| Mahimangad | ... | " | 3,000 |
| Tahavda | ... | " | 3,000 |
| Sadashivgad near Karhad | | " | 2,000 |
| Jakhinwadi | ... | " | 3,000 |
| Near Natepute | ... | " | 5,000 |
| Tadavale | ... | " | 5,000 |
| Ahir Morwe | ... | " | 2,000 |
| Salgaon Kamapur Pargane Rajpur. | | | 300 |
| Songaon | ... | Rs. | 300 |
| Tiwara | ... | " | 200 |
| Ambavale | ... | " | 200 |
| Kasurni or Kasardi | ... | " | 1,000 |
| Pambhori | ... | " | 1,000 |
| Pingori ³ | ... | | - |
| Virmade ⁴ | ... | | - |

1. DCHM 20/745

2. R.III 90.

3. PBCL 288.

4. DCHM 20/1163.

Phaltan.¹

The road on Khambetki Ghat between Poona and Satara is said to have been built by the Swami at an expenditure of Rs.45,000/-. There is a small tank on this ghat.²

The Swami had given instruction to Sambhaji Shinde, the Killeddar of Rasalgad, to repair the road on the Ambola Ghat by sending two masons and four labourers because bullocks used to skid there.³

The following works were contemplated by the Swami but were not carried out:

Temple at Dhopeswar, Khandoba temple at Chinchpur, a bridge on the river Banganga, a bridge on the river Nira, reconstruction of the temple of Natepute.⁴ The Swami asked Viroobai about the building of the bridge on the river Nira and she informed him that the Chhatrapati did not grant the permission; so the bridge should not be built.⁵

1. PBCL 226,
2. DCHM 20/902.
3. PBC p.105.
4. PBCL 309, DCHM 20/583, 197.
5. DCHM 20/197, PBCL 262.

It appears from the Swami's two letters to Viroobai and Chhatrapati Shahu, that his workers - masons and stone cutters - were being troubled by some people while the work of building one tank (the name of which is not known) was in progress. The letter to Viroobai runs thus:

"The Swami commands

Matusri Viroobai

I am your sentinel. The work of the tank will last as long as the moon and the sun shine. This will spread your fame. Nine masons and stone cutters from Kidgaon are working on the tank. This is going to add to your merit. Please write a note that they should not be troubled. The whole world under the sun belongs to you. You can collect any number of masons. As such do write a note accordingly."¹ The Swami had ordered Bapu Baijaji, Bhaya, Yesaji and Bhagdu Salvi, the masons to complete the work of the Kalasha of Poornagad temple within three months. But they did not complete it within time. So the Swami wrote, " You will not be regarded as my servants. After completing this work you should work at Meruling. If you will do these works -- satisfactorily, you will be rewarded".²

1. PBCL 20/1071

2. DCHM 20/1229

To the Chhatrapati, the Swami wrote that if he would write a note, the workers of Poornagad would be assured and would work with a free mind.¹

In the last years of his life Brahmendra Swami was interested in two things, his building works and his fondness for gardening. We find him at home busy with these pursuits. Though his gardens have disappeared, his building works still remain. He could carry on these works because of the munificent donations he received from merchants, money lenders and noblemen.² The sum he had spent on these works was not a small one, / Sardesai has aptly remarked that the Swami was 'the P.W.D. of his period'. And Chhatrapati Shahu once paid the following compliment to the Swami, "The Swami builds temples, wells, tanks etc... and leaves a lasting fame behind." In the absence of a government department, the few works which the Swami undertook voluntarily in those days of unrest, certainly deserve ~~merit~~^{mention,}, though the works may not be mighty works of art.³

We cannot extol the building works of the Swami just because they were religious and useful to the people. The means by which the money was collected must be taken into account. That 'the end justifies the means' is not

1. DCHM 20/1033.

2. Ibid 20/1042

3. PBCL 1, SMR CSPB p.251.

a truism. History abounds in many examples of dictators and tyrants who tried to smother their tyrannies by the brilliance of their public works.

The figures of expenditure in the list given by Parasnisi are swollen. It does not appear that the expenditure on the tank at Tripuri was Rs. 1 lac.

One thing more may be added here. During the progress of these buildings not only cash but material such as lime, rafters, gum, catechu were supplied by the people and the nobility. Corn too was many times supplied.

It should not be taken for granted that the Swami's requisitions for building works and religious rites were always approved of by his wealthier devotees. Shahu refused to sanction the expenditure on the bridge over Nira suggested by the Swami.
2

1. PBC p. 103, DCHM 20/829 The following discrepancies also have been detected in the Modi copy.

| <u>List of Parasnisi</u> | <u>List in the Modi copy.</u> | <u>Item</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Rs. 5,000 | Rs. 2,000 | Maruti temple at Dhavadshi |
| Rs. 70,000 | Rs. 7,000 | Wells at Malshiras. |

2. DCHM 20/197, PBCL 262

ii) Fondness for gardening.

Gardening was one of the Brahmendra Swami's best past-times and he had an intense fascination for it. We find him personally looking after the trees and plants planted by him.

The Swami had his gardens at Gothana and Ambdas in the Konkan and Anewadi, Virmade, Malshiras and Dhavadshi in the Desha.¹ Shahu Chhatrapati and the Maratha Sardars used to ask for seedlings, plants and trees from the Swami. The Swami too sent gifts of flowers, fruit and vegetables to Maratha nobles.

Whenever any seedlings were received, the Swami gave instructions personally to his servants as to how to plant them. To Chimajipant Bhagwat the Swami wrote, " Mango and nagchafa seedlings are sent to you. Plant half of them in the gardens of Dhavadshi and half in those of Virmade". Similarly, out of the twenty mango seeds received from Goa, the Swami instructed Chimnajipant to plant five at Dhavadshi and fifteen at Anewadi. He also asked Chimnaji to plant oranges and sweet lemons near the well at Dhavadshi and 'madanban' 'jai' and 'agasta'¹ near the well.

1. DCHM 20/839, 841

Fruits and vegetables were asked for from the Swami by several Sardars and by the Chhatrapati himself. Shahu asked for sweet and sour pomogranates.¹ About the vegetables in the Swami's garden, Nana Saheb Peshwa and Chimaji Appa write to him, "There are varieties of vegetables in your gardens. We shall be grateful to you if you will please send us vegetables every alternate days. Eating of vegetables blessed by you will be conducive to our health". In another letter they write "Our diseases will disappear by eating vegetables received with your grace. Send us vegetables off and on every two or three days. Whatever will be available in the garden should be sent to us. It is not necessary to purchase anything for us."²

The Swami's gardens, plants and trees were very dear to him. To Jagannath Chimaji he wrote, " Ask Antoba to look after the trees at Anewadi carefully". To Govind he wrote, " Guard carefully the mango trees near the well. I won't like it if the tree will die." To Chimaji ^h he instructed, "Plant the flower plants in the garden. Keep one man to look after the mango trees. Make arrangement for a draw bucket (mot)."³ To Chimajipant he wrote, "Keep Antaji warned; I might ask him any time about the trees."⁴

1 DCHM 20/980

2 PBCL 143, 144

3 DCHM 12/641 A. 20/864

4 DCHM 20/843

Krishnaji Pawar wrote to the Swami, " Please send me seedlings of a 'naga' and 'son chafa'. My garden is your garden also. If there are excellent trees in my garden it will spread the fame of the Swami.¹

The Swami sent many fruits as gifts to his devotees. Plantains were sent by him to Nana saheb Peshwa and pumpkins were sent to several people. Whenever the Sardars came to Satara, the Swami sent them some kind of fruit or vegetable as a present.²

One English poet remarks, "A garden is a lovesome thing God walks". The Swami seems to be having the same sentiments as the poet because everything that he did was in the name of God. Chhatrapati Shahu paid the Swami the following compliment "You have won eternal fame by building temples, tanks, etc. and by planting trees."³

A Chinese proverb says, "If you want to be happy for ever, make a garden". The Swami had made himself happy during his lifetime by rearing gardens.

1 DCHM 20/563

2 SPD 18/22, PBCL 110. R.III 9, DCHM 20/822.

3 PBCL 1

(ii) Demands on his followers.

It was a custom in ancient India that the Brahmins should be maintained by the Society. Brahmins were then very learned and were the custodians of knowledge and morals. There is a Sanskrit saying which says that " a learned Brahmin, a young woman and a creeper cannot live without an adequate support." The custom continued till the nineteenth century though in a corrupt form. The Maratha saint Ramdas also had said that " it is the duty of a Brahmin to beg" , - - Brahmendra Swami was not only a Brahmin but regarded himself as a Sanyasin, a saint and the Guru of the Maratha Society. He always vigorously insisted that the Maratha society must cater to his demands because he was ^a mediator between them and God; and because he was doing God's work. Out of the whole correspondence of the Swami, nearly sixty percent of the letters, are concerning the demands of the Swami.

The range of the demands of the Swami varied from a trifle to the highest luxuries. Among the things demanded by the Swami were cash and valuables, villages, building material, clothes, corn and grocery, fruit and vegetables, cattle, medicines, and horses daily needs such as umbrellas, papers, utensils and arms.

i) Palanquin.

Several references in the correspondence are found from which it can be inferred that the Swami had an intense mania for palanquin . He felt pleasure in the use of a palanquin borrowed for a few days. A palanquin was once borrowed from Tulaji on condition that the bearers should be given a payment for two months.¹ The Swami wanted to inspect the working of the tank at Indapur, and after doing the work he would send back the palanquin borrowed from Tulaji after two months. When the rod of the palanquin was broken a new one was ordered from Trimbakrao Mama Pethe. To Yesaji Bhonsale, Shahu's bastard at Satara he wrote, "You have promised to grant a village for the maintenance of a palanquin. Five years have elapsed. If you are not going to grant the village, say so." To Sadashivrao Bhau the Swami wrote, "How many times I should remind you about the palanquin? You are worried about your own affairs. You should be more attentive to my demand for the palanquin." Sadoba replied that a fine palanquin was specially ordered to be designed for the Swami, and that it would be sent to him in due course.² Parasnis and many others have tried to emphasize by partially quoting the Swami's sentence ("I don't want a palanquin"); Here we see how the Swami was anxious about the palanquin.

1. DCHM 12/1097.

2. PRCL 292, 81; 90, 121, 138, 163. DCHM 20/949.

ii) Luxuries.

In the name of God the Swami led a life of a rich nobleman.

Let us then see what were the luxurious articles required by this saint. Mention has already been made to his demand for cattle, horses & palanquin. He required bedsteads of ivory with curtains, broad cloths of rich fine muslins & woolen coverlets with designs, bundles of silks, mirrors, scents, bottles of rose water, tobacco, velvet caps and shoes, fireworks, perfumed oils, teakwood bedsteads, tiger-skins, betel-nuts, leaves of piper-betels, dry fruits and sweetmeats including pedhas rolled cakes of jack-fruit, dates, figs, cashewnuts, ripe, peeled and dried plantains, almonds, walnuts, peeled seeds of gourds etc.¹ The Swami has even once asked / pea-fowls.²

What is mostly to be marked in these demands is the attitude of the Swami. Whenever he desired a thing he showered praises on the person. To give parallels from Puranas, Ramayanas & Maha-bharat was his usual trick of the trade.

Let us see how he is asking for a village for a palanquin from Viroobai. The Swami writes to her, " I became a fisherman & ate berries given by you. Be proud of it. You have made the Raja grant me a throne ... I don't want a palanquin... Your happiness is my palanquin"

Praising her in this manner, at the end he quietly puts forth his demand, for a grant of village for the maintenance of a palanquin. (Many defenders and devotees of the Swami have taken the support of the Swami's sentence. 'I don't want a palanquin' isolating it from his other sentences).³

1. DCHM 20/845, 902, 535, 942, 690, 976, 615, 355, 881, 712, 657, 629, 866, 185, 215, 734, 956; 12/1106, 1103, 186.

2. Ibid 12/1046

3. PBCL 264. See ^{supra} (i)

In a letter to Chimaji and Bajirao the Swami addresses them as the mythological brothers Rama and Raxman. He further says, " My fame will not spread by your giving lacs of stones and diamonds. Your triumphs will spread my fame in all the three worlds." At the end he says, "Khanderao Dabhade is far better than you."¹ The other method of the Swami was to quote an instance or parallel to the person whom he was writing, thus provoking the rivalry or jealousy in him and encouraging him to give better things to the Swami. The Swami while writing to Sadashivrao Bhau says, " I got angry because Appa did not pay me the money. I then, went to Talegaon. Umabai Dabhade gave me clothes and utensils and paid me homage. She did not allow me to go to Damaji. Yesterday she came to Dhavadshi from Satara and gave me Rs.2000/- . She has got such an intense faith in me."² To Muktabai i.e. Umabai Dabhade he writes, " I called you my daughter. You are really so. It is for your welfare that I regarded you my daughter. If you understand this, send me Rs.6000/- . You will get plenty of money."³ A resort was sometimes made to threats.

1. PBCL 275. The last sentence is found in the original

Modi letter which seems to have been overlooked
by Parasnisi .

2. Ibid 291.

3. Ibid 303.

To Bajirao he commanded, " Send me the titles for the village Kothale and the clothes. Baji, don't disobey me. Do you want me to stay at this place or go elsewhere ? " To Tulaji he threatened, " One who would keep God's money will be reborn twentyone times. He will have evil days. His house will be bgrnt. The man who will retain my money will have his forefathers thrown in the hell. They will not be emancipated."¹ He praised Udaji Pawar to secure the titles of Malshiras through him when the latter was busy in the Janjira war. He writes to him, " I have not cut my hair and am not even taking (my daily cup of) cow's urine. If you and the Raja will send me the titles of Malshiras I shall take cow's urine and get my hair cut. If you won't grant me the titles, I shall leave this country and go to some distant place. I am not going to take anything from you. I shall leave this state for good and go to that place where I am fated to die."² To Pilaji Jadhav he wrote, " Don't discard me because I am asking you for the rupees. You see it is God who gives you the money and it is God who is asking for it. You know what will happen if you give the money and what will be consequences if you don't give it."³

1. PBCL 289, 322.

2. Ibid 305

3. Ibid 301.

a) Keen selection.

We have seen that all the things were begged by the Swami from his devotees. Beggars, it is said, are seldom choosers. But the Swami's case was quite different. He cared little for the proper time, proper person, proper season and proper place for the fulfilment of his demand. He had no regard for the extra exertions the person whom the thing was asked had to undergo for the satisfaction of his want.

b) Efforts for his requirements

Many times it is seen that people had to make special efforts to secure the things required by the Swami. The Swami asked for a broadcloth from Sambhaji Angre. Sambhaji informed him that he was trying his best to secure the broadcloth and that when it would be available he would send it to him.¹ Ganesh Ballal Tambe from Parshuram informed the Swami that water melons could not be had inspite of his efforts to get them. In order to secure Cactus (Kevda) pads and pineapples for the Swami, the Swami's Kamavisdar at Gothana sent men to the villages Katavali, Ghanewari and Songaon, and sent them to the Swami along with Sambhaji.

1. R.III 262.

Malharrao Holkar who was then at Satara, sent a man to bring the broadcloth from Aurangabad for the Swami's sake.¹ The Swami wanted roseapples from Gothana. They were not available in that district. It was discovered that there were one or two trees. The Swami's man informed him that when those trees would bear fruit he would send them to him.²

c) Out of season articles demanded.

Sometimes the Swami asked things which were not available in that season. He asked from Bakaji Naik muskmelons in the month of October, and water melons in the month when they were out of season. To Manaji he once - commanded to bring succulent roots. He informed that the best variety would be available in the month of 'Magha'. Still Manaji made efforts to secure them from Bombay; but they were not available as the season was not proper.³

Like the season the Swami never worried whether the thing asked for would be available at that place or not. Chimaji was in the Konkan. The Swami ordered him to send a broadcloth. He informed the Swami that inspite of his efforts broadcloth could not be had at that place. Chimaji, therefore,

1. PBCL 173.
2. DCHM 20/ 57, 12/654, 650.
3. R.III 331, 316, 338.

made arrangements to purchase broadcloth at Satara by writing to Ambajipant Purandare. Similarly Shivaji/informed from Dhat that shawls were not available at that place. Malhar Tukadev sent Rs.4 to the Swami as he could not secure a coloured shawl for the Swami.¹

Regardless demands.

The Swami, similarly cared little for what to ask & from whom to ask, in putting forth his demands. His demands for villages from the Queens and Janoji Nimbalkar are instances to the point.²

Attitude of hurting the donors.

Lastly the Swami never accepted things if they were not upto the mark or if they were damaged in the transit. He immediately returned them and censured the donors. He also did not like even if the things demanded were less in quantity. Tulaji sent him cardamom. The Swami sent him the reply:

"All the cardamom sent by you is useless. Out of one seer not even 1/4 are useful. Moreover it is less in weight." If the things demanded were found less in quantity than was required, then also the Swami complained. He had asked sugar from Sambhaji Angre. Finding it less in weight he complained to Sambhaji. The Swami's remark on the horse sent by the Peshwa was "You are sending a horse which is done up. Your horse is good for nothing. Send me the price and I shall buy a good horse. Are you paying more value to the rupees than me?" Similarly for the pair of shawls sent by the Peshwa the Swami wrote, "The pair of shawls sent by you has been eaten by white termites (ants). I have sent it back. Send me a better pair." To Mathurabai Angre he writes sarcastically, "You have done me a great favour. The young cocoanuts sent by you are wasted by sun's heat. I threw them in the dust."³ Thus we find that the Swami cared little for either the devotion or the sentiment of the donors.

1. PBCL 128, DCHM 20/636, 1003.

2. Ibid 94, 95.

for

f) The quantity asked by the Swami.

The Swami always thought that he being a Guru could demand things (necessaries or luxuries) in any quantity from his devotees. He cared little whether it was in the reach of that person or not. From Balaji Bajirao he had asked ^{for} the following articles: Ghee 12 maunds; Gunpowder 9 maunds and Saffron 4 tolas.¹

In return of his debt we have seen the Swami demanding of articles large quantities from Tulaji.²

The following remarks of the Swami in connection with his requirements are also worth considering.

When Yamaji Shivdev prohibited ^{the} Swami's men from cutting down wood from the villages Devkhol and Morghar he remarked to Viroobai in a letter addressed to her.

" I am not allowed to cut wood in your region . From where then I should bring the wood? Is it to be brought from heaven?"³

1. R.III 274, PBCL 157.

2. PBCL 322, See Chap. 3(b).

3. Ibid 263.

The Swami wanted a rich shawl from queen Sakwarbai. He wrote to her, " Is it good to allow the shawl to be rotten in the royal wardrobe in your palace or is it good to sew a rajai/^{for} it and I should wear it? "¹

To Mathurabai Angre he writes, " When God will bestow ship of gold upon you, I shall come to you a thousand times and ask/^{for} millions from you."²

g) Criticism.

A Sanyasin according to the Dharmashastra is not expected to stay more than three days at one place and is allowed to store grain sufficient for three days only. A sanyasin also is not expected to take interest in worldly affairs beyond bear maintenance. A Paramhamsa type of sanyasin is expected to devote totally to Yoga and spiritual matters. If these tests are applied to Brahmendra Swami, we do not find him up to the mark. It will not be an exaggeration to say that in dealing with his devotees in respect of his demands he lacks even the courtesy of an ordinary man.

" A Man " it is said, " is not disrespected for a bad heart but for bad manners." The Swami's attitude appears - shameless and dictatorial. The Swami's enormous demands

1. PBCL 256.

2. Ibid 331.

and the way of getting them fulfilled, compels us to agree with an English author who says, " Poverty wants some things, luxury many, avarice all things." Rajwade thus writes about his demands, " It has been spread about the Swami that he was non-desirous, a lofty paramhamsa, an influential and a great politician. It is necessary to test these ideas by printing his letters of demands of ~~ghost~~ and oil. Demand of things worldly was the one great longing in the heart of the Swami." When we read about these demands and the way in which they were satisfied we are apt to say that the Swami very much belittled the title of ' Paramhamsa '.

The love of material things seems to have captivated the Swami's mind so much that he could not think of anything else. In 1736 when Bajirao was proceeding to the north, the Swami wrote to him, " As you are going to the north, get some best quantities of red silken and woolen broadcloth and order two 'dulaies' to be prepared out of them. When you will return from the campaign send me these dulaies". While in another letter when he was about to start his Samadhi he writes, " You must have ordered some good things for from that province. Now ten days have remained for the Samadhi. If you will send them late, they might come here while I would be having my Samadhi. I wish to feast my eyes by seeing the/unprecedented priceless things you have brought before my Samadhi."¹

Rajwade remarked that perfumes, rich clothes, and dainties were the favourites of the Swami. Alekar thinks this to be a false allegation against the Swami.¹ It is said that the Swami demanded so many things in order only to give them away. This is not correct. We find the Swami demanding so many things, especially so many articles, of luxury, which he had neither given to his devotees nor utilised for God. What were the things given as grace to his devotees by the Swami ? The list includes jackfruit, pumpions, cocoanuts, pineapples, plantains, watermelons, figs, groundnuts and some few clothes not of a very rich quality.²

It is true that the Swami had to maintain a good number of dependants. He had also to entertain guests at Dhavadshi. It is said the monthly expenditure of Dhavadshi was from Rs.2000 to Rs. 5,000 per month³. The Swami once gave a feast to thousand persons including the king and his retinue. Such occasions, however, were few and far between. The Swami's yearning for material things is manifest from the volume and frequency of these demands.

1. R.III Pr. p. 194. No. 9, Alekar, Granthamala No.92,

p.85.

2. PBCL 144,191,192;

DCHM 20/243, 244, 750, 1015, 1215.

3. PBCL 270, 308.

iv) His Pecuniary Affairs.

Monetary matters played a prominent part in Brahmendra Swami's life. From the time he revealed himself at - Parshuram in the Konkan, he was rolling in money till the end of his life. His assets aggregate nearly 30 lacs^{of}/rupees.

Sources of his income.

The Swami received offerings in cash and kind. His correspondence all along is concerned with what he wanted either in cash or in kind. After a careful study of his daily consumption it can safely be inferred that he mostly drew upon the goods and articles he received and kept the cash intact. Though the Swami has written that his expenditure at Dhavadshi was from Rs.3000 to Rs.5000 per month, we find that he received almost every article of necessity and of luxury from his devotees.¹ The Swami had sometimes to spend for the noble visitors. But such visits were few and far between.²

The various items comprising his income were as follows:-

1. PBCL 308, 270.
2. DCHM 20/757

i) The following 'varshansanas' or annuities fixed for him by different noblemen.

Rs. 6,100 per year from the Peshwa settled by
Balaji Vishwanath.

" 1,000 every three years from Mahadaji Ambaji

Purandare.

" 3,000 per year from the Chhatrapati.

" 5,000 every three years from the Holkars.

" 1,200 " " " Jadhav.

" 1,500 every year from Fatesing Bhonsale.

" 5,000 " " " Shinde

" 5,000 " " " Pawar

" 1,000 " three years from Anandrao Vakil(Sumant)

" 1,000 " " " Narba Shenvi (Mantri)

" 500 " " " " Ranoji Dubal.

" 500 " " " " Ratnakarpant.¹

In addition, to this list the Swami used to receive
money from the following persons.

Jaysingrao Shirke Haibatrao Somavanshi

Dawalji Somavanshi² Bhaskarram Kolhatkar³

Umabai Dabhade⁴ Viroobai.

1. PBCL 301. PBC. p. 102. DCHM 20/830. The last four have
not been found in the original list.

2. PBCL 210.

3. Ibid 167.

4. Ibid 185, 189.

ii) Sravanamas Daxina.

Some people sent 'daxina' to the Swami for the month of Sravana when he usually took his 'samadhi'.¹

iii) Samadhi Visarjan.

The last day of the Samadhi - Bhadrapada shudha Chaturthi - was a day of great pomp and festivities. The Swami's devotees bestowed on him rich clothes, money and other valuable presents.²

iv) 'Bhiksha'- (Religious Mendicancy).

After the 'samadhi visarjan', the Swami usually set out on his annual tour of 'bhiksha' (begging) from his devotees. After coming to Dhavadshi, this practice seems to have stopped as the Swami allotted fixed sums to be sent as 'bhiksha' by his devotees. For the Swami's sake Bajirao had collected money from ^{The Village} Akale.³ To Chimaji Appa the Swami once wrote, " I shall come to Poona after the Dasara. You keep ready the 'bhiksha' from the clerks, the town and, except the three sardars, from the rest."⁴

1. DCHM 20/1016 A

2. PBC p. 17

3. PBCL 29.

4. Ibid 138.

Similarly the Swami is seen asking Nimbalkar to collect the 'bhiksha' from his villages.¹

To Shankaraji Keshava Phadke the Swami wrote ordering to collect 'bhiksha' of his district and from the soldiers in his contingent amounting to Rs.5,000².

The Swami had once suggested to Chimaji Appa to impose on the people in the Maratha State a cess of Rs. 3 per head to be called 'Bhargavapatti'. Little is known whether it was actually imposed or not.³

v) Vacha-datta & udaka-datta promises:

From some persons the Swami took verbal promises for monetary donations and these were known as 'vacha-datta' (given verbally). In other cases the Swami secured such promises on the strength of a religious ceremony of pouring water on his hand: (udaka-datta).

vi) Usury.

The Swami used always to have some surplus money on

1. PBCL 309.
2. DCHM 20/633
3. PBCL 146.

hand and he invested this in loans to his needy devotees. Indebtedness was the peculiar bane of people in the Maratha State, right from Shahu to the lowest ranks. The Swami was aware of this weakness and fully exploited it.

The nature of his usury was quite different from that of the 'savkars' or professional money lenders. The latter had branches in various towns and they transacted their business through 'hundis' or bills of exchange. Baramatikar, Vanavle, Raste, Antaji Naik, Gunde, and Angal were the well known savkars of the time.

The Swami never allowed himself to be mixed up with the savkars. He carried on his business in the name of God and religion. On the strength of his reputation as a religious leader, the Swami plied his usurious business through his agents who collected his dues and also penalised those who failed to pay.

The rate of interest which the Swami charged went up to as much as 15%. This is seen from two promissory notes given by Yeshwantrao Pawar.¹ The Swami himself in one of his letters to Chimaji in 1738 has asked him to charge interest at the rate of 15 per cent on a loan of Rs.500.²

1. DCHM 20/571

2. Ibid 20/840.

"Shake 1660, Kalyuktanama Samvatsare Aswin Shudh Pratipada. I, Yeshwantrao Pawar the debtor hereby have received a loan of Rs.10,000 for self-utilisation from Srimant Paramhansa Shri Bhargavaram. I promise to pay interest at Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per month on Rs.100."¹

The amount of interest which was charged ^{from} / the Peshwas was Rs.8100 annually and in about 30 years the amount of interest outstanding against the Angres was Rs.3 lacs.²

His loans.

Some of the large amounts advanced as loans by the Swami were:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| To Angres | Rs. 2 lacs |
| To Peshwas | Rs. 2 lacs. |
| To Queen Sagunabai | Rs. 1 lac. |
| To Yeshwantrao Pawar- | Rs.10,000 |
| To Umabai Dabhade | Rs.10,000 |
| To Nimbalkar ³ | Rs. 5,000 |

1. DCHM 20/571 A

2. PBCL 81, R.III 298.

3. DCHM 20/571 A; R.III 294, PBCL 81, 73, 74, 19.

i) Chhatrapati.

From the correspondence it does not appear that Shahu himself had borrowed any money from the Swami. His Queens Sakwarbai and Sagunabai took some loans from the Swami. Queen Sagunabai had taken a loan of Rs.1 lac which she in turn lent to Raghuji Bhonsle.¹ In one of the letters to - Sakwarbai, the Swami asked for Rs.4000 in part repayment of the capital.² The secretaries and servants of the Queens, Shivaji Hari and Mahadaji Salonke, also appear to be borrowing money from the Swami. The Swami dared not harass or remind the Queens about the money lent to them, but for the others however, he is seen asking Shahu and the Queens to exert their influence in the collection of his dues.

ii) The Peshwa.

Right from Balaji Vishwanath to Chimaji Appa, the Peshwas seem to be borrowing money from the Swami. They paid off their dues and borrowed fresh sums again. In 1713, Balaji

1. R.III 37.

2. PBCL 102.

Vishwanath paid 25 mohors to the Swami. At Wadi in December 1717, Bajirao paid 41 mohors to the Swami¹ by way of interest. At the time of the Bassein campaign, Bajirao is seen asking/some money on loan from the Swami.²

From Nanasaheb Peshwa the Swami asked Rs.10,000 to be sent to him in 1741.

To Sadashiv Chimnaji the Swami wrote in 1743 that he should send Rs.8,100 as interest for one year on the sum borrowed. Peshwa Nanasaheb appears to have taken from the Swami a loan of Rs.5,000 on 10th Sept.1741 with interest at Rs.1/8 per cent per month and Rs. 1 lac on 10th Oct.1743 at 1 percent per month.³

The Swami ordered Chimaji in 1740 to send him Rs.10,000 out of the interest,⁴ due. About loans which Bajirao Peshwa had taken from the Swami, Rajwade writes,

"The Swami helped Bajirao in many ways. Threatening other sardars, finding out their faults, censuring the opponents, making recommendations of Bajirao to the Chhatrapati, and keeping the Chhatrapati pleased was the five-fold service rendered by the Swami to Bajirao. The sixth one was advancing big sums as loans. If Bajirao was in any way obliged

1. PBCL 37.

2. Ibid 19, 114.

3. Diary of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa - II Vol.II by Vad and Parasnis pp. 171-172.

4. PBCL 73, 74, 81, 146.

to the Swami, it was in this matter. Whenever the Swami sent a reminder, Bajirao immediately showed himself humble and submissive. Duff and many others think that the letters written by Bajirao to the Swami, being fed up with debts, are actually concerned with other savkars. But these letters and the entreaties therein are actually addressed to none else but the Swami himself only, which can be easily ascertained from the minute perusal of these letters. The Swami asked Bajirao to send Rs.5000 against the outstanding loan. Bajirao wrote to him that the money would be remitted later.¹ "I have rubbed the skin of my forehead by falling at the feet of the ~~saldars~~" wrote Bajirao to the Swami.² The Swami always was in search of such opportune moments when he could twist Bajirao's desire as he wished. Bajirao, who at other times was so noble and walked with his head high, became as such moments pliable and submissive. The Swami wanted only one thing. That Bajirao before whom the world trembled, must eat an humble pie before him. The Swami who at other times was ever ready to please Bajirao could bend him so low is an illustration of an ambitious and pretentious human nature! A man who could not utter a single submissive word to the creditors at the door whose millions of rupees he had borrowed, felt no shame in admitting his meekness & humility before persons like the Swami. The status of a Paramhamsa

1. PBCL 30.

2. PBCL 31, 32.

is itself so high, that anybody should confess his heart's secrets before him."¹

Sardesai thinks, " In the later Maratha period, Maratha agents off and on complained of not getting their wages regularly. We do not find this to be the case in respect of Bajirao and Chimaji. That they were always - buried under debts was to be told to persons like Brahmendra Swami only. We do not find Bajirao had fallen so low on account of his debts."² Sardesai, however, has not supported this by any evidence. Rajwade has written that the Swami carried on usury like Voltaire. Alekar admits that the Swami carried on usury and cursed those who did not pay sacred bounty. He adds, however, that he utilised all that money for public benefit and he had supplied money for the campaign of Bassein.³

Other Maratha Sardars.

Out of the Maratha nobility those who had borrowed from the Swami, got constant reminders for repayment. Raghunath Hari Gupte, the Sardar of the Angres, was so hard up that he wrote to the Swami that he was ready to be sold if he so desired but he sent Rs.250 only when the Swami had asked for Rs.1000.

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1. R.III Pr. pp. 188-189.
 2. SMR CSPB p. 425.
 3. R.III Pr.p. 19, Alekar Granthmala no.92.

Angres.

Ever since 1710, the Swami had given advance both in cash and in kind to Kanhoji Angre. At the beginning of Kanhoji's career, the Swami had given 1500 hon and later he gave Rs.60,000, 3000 hons, 18 horses, medals, gold ornaments, rich clothes and a pair of bullocks worth Rs.300/-. To Ahilya probably Tulaji's mother - he had given Rs.5000 and to Tulaji Rs.2000. Sambhaji had taken Rs.5000 from the Swami's treasury at Rasalgad. The total amount of interest had shot up to rupees 3 lacs by 1742-43.¹ The capital sum can be imagined from the amount of interest. The Swami always said that all his wealth, heart and soul were sacrificed for the Angres. After Kanhoji's death he announced that Kanhoji had spent away a major part of the money he had lent to him, and harassed his sons cursing them that until their father's debt was paid off by them, their forefathers would rot in the hell. To Kanhoji's wives also he uttered curses. The Swami had a bitter quarrel with Sambhaji, money being the chief reason for dispute.

His high-handedness in exacting money.

The Swami used to advance money for business to some merchants from Goa and Harnai.² Towards the ordinary class of people who borrowed money from him, he acted as a ruthless money lender. One Sona, a 'rangari' from Malshiras who had

1. Rajwade III-340/294 For details see chapter III.

2. PBCL 373; DCHM 12/39

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borrowed Rs.300 from the Swami, was put in stocks when one Lava Mahar stood as his surety and got him released. Sona, according to the Swami, was a rogue. He, therefore, instructed Bapuji Shripat Chitrav, the Peshwa's officer in charge of fort, Purandar, to keep him chained. Similarly Malhari Bakra who had borrowed Rs.153 from the Swami was also asked to be chained by the Swami. Tukoji Patil Yadav and Baka Mali from Malshiras had not returned the Swami's money and their sons were therefore kept in the fort of Purandar as sureties until the loans were repaid. When Rs.135 were received from Tukoji, his son was released from the fort.

Two tailors from Malshiras who happened to be the Swami's debtors fled to the district of Raghuji Bhonsale when the Swami chased them there and compelled Raghuji either to arrest them or collect the outstanding loans on pain of the infliction of a curse. It appears the Swami secured the arrest of these tailors who were kept in confinement at Purandar fort and the Swami instructed Bapuji Shripat Chitrava, " Make them work from morning till evening and in the evening give to each of them 25 strokes on their heads with a shoe so that they might immediately pay off God's money."

When Sona Rangari died, a sum of Rs.108 was still outstanding against him. One of Sona's wives, on the death of her husband married one Sambhoo Waikar who did not know

about

anything /the debt. The arbitrators (panch) gave a decision that both the wives of Sona should pay off the Swami's loan. Sambhu Waikar was, therefore, compelled to pay half the amount Rs. 54 to the Swami and the other half was paid by the other widow of Sona.¹

From the Chhatrapati, the Peshwa, and a few Maratha sardars alone the Swami received every year Rs.15,833.² - Sardesai gives this sum as Rs.16,000 while according to Rajwade it was Rs.25,000³. Actually, if cash and kind are taken together it was far greater than Rs.25,000, amounting to about Rs.50,000. Documents of annuities (varshasanas) are not available except those of the Peshwas. There is a custom among the Hindus that they should never see a guru, a king and God empty handed. The Swami, according to Parasnus, was revered by all and as such no one allowed him go empty-handed when he asked for money. The Swami utilised this money for temples, wells, tanks and free boarding to the poor and advancing loans to the Chhatrapati, the Peshwa, and other Maratha sardars when they were in difficulties. The money advanced as loans was collected along with interest. Though the Swami spent lacs of rupees on temples, at the time of his death the balance to his credit was Rs.1,60,637-13-3. Out of this 57, 108-10-3 represented ready assets and Rs.1,03,523-3-0 were outstanding as dues.⁴ He had spent

1. DCHM 20/621,622,868,972,12/200.

2. PBC p.103.

3. R.III Pr.p. 188. SMR CSPB p. 244 .

4. PBC p.103.

nearly 10 to 20 lacs of rupees on his building works.¹ It was a belief then, and even now, that buildings constructed in honour of deities was a highly meritorious act. It did not matter whether the money was obtained by fair means or foul as long as it was spent on some building to house a deity when merit was credited to you even by God. This according to Sardesai, was the Swami's belief which was not different from that,² held by everyone else.

"The Swami", writes Athley, "has been criticised that he was an intensely avaricious and greedy man. But so long as the object is not bad, or harmful, we cannot say much against greediness. The Swami got his money from the Maratha nobility through the annuities and as 'bhiksha'. He never utilised it for self aggrandisement, but spent it for others' benefit and from ^{the} religious point of view on public works and building of temples."³ Athley then gives remarks of different contemporary persons. When Shahu observed that the Swami had made good use of the money earned, he was much pleased. He informed the Swami, "You are building wells, tanks, gardens ... this is really for your eternal fame. What can be better than this? We are very much pleased by these things."⁴ Chimaji Appa once wrote, 'Your worry is keen. You had written

1. PBC pp.103-104. PBCL 298.

2. SMR CSPB p.245

3. Athley Kesari 24-1-1905.

4. PBCL 1.

to me to put the money to the best use. Millions of rupees you have earned so far, you have made the best use of it. By your blessings, the money, hereafter will be put to the best use."¹ Mathurabai Angre wrote, "The Swami earned the money by exerting for it and spent it for noble deeds. The world knows this.² The Swami himself wrote at one place, "I did not earn the money by telling lies. Earning the money, and keeping it was treasure trove I do not wish to court hell."³ Athley further adds, "There are very few persons who had earned money by begging, and spent such enormous sums for the benefit of others. From this we can infer that the Swami was selfless."⁴ When he asked money known from others, people became suspicious. This was/to the Swami. He, therefore, once explained to Mahadaji Govind Kakirde, why he begged. "I ask ^{for} money from you for the sake of the temple. For this you suspect an evil wish in me, Mahadoba. Let there be fame on this earth and accumulation of good in the other world. This fame will remain till the sun and moon will last. You are a wise fellow. What has Pilaji Gaikwad taken with him? You spread Damaji's fame.⁵ In another letter the Swami says, "Aurangzeb, Kanhoji Angre, Habshi(the Siddi) have died. What did they take with them? Wealth never accompanies

1. PBCL 46.

2. R.III 294.

3. PBCL 316.

4. Athley Kesari 24-1-1905.

5. PBCL 367.

anybody."¹ According to Athley the Swami, in order to test the devotion of his devotees, outwardly threatened them with demands for money. Once the devotee was put to test, the Swami immediately showed his non-covetous nature. We choose to differ from Athley here. Had Athley known the high-handedness the Swami used in recovering his debts, he would never have paid him these compliments. The evaluation of a man must include the highest and the lowest qualities embodied in him. When we think of the Swami's methods of usury and his avariciousness, we feel that Shakespeare's Shylock was a kinder person.

Paradoxical as it may appear to be, his usury was one of the reasons why he was indispensable to the Maratha nobility as they always needed money.

The Dharmashastra, viz. the Manusmriti, ordains that neither a priest nor a military man, though distressed, must receive interest on loans.² The Swami was not permitted as a Brahmin to resort to usury. He was moreover a sadhu and that too a Paramhamsa type of sadhu, who is supposed to have renounced everything! His usury cannot be excused on the ground that he utilised the money for public good and public welfare. God also does not like money from stained hands. The Swami's ~~borrowing~~^{passion for} money, though for public good, cannot in any way be tolerated or excused. The Bible says, "It is as

1. PBCL 181.

2. Manu X-117

easy for a rich man to go to heaven as for a camel to pass through the nose of a needle." "You cannot serve two masters God and Mammon both." The Swami not only resorted to usury but also to high-handedness for the recovery of his money and interest.

The power of riches is greatly exaggerated. To do good to the people, the Swami had no business to leave his own course and resort to ^a moneylender's business. Large sums are collected for the purpose of reforming men and turning them from evil to good. Yet money alone will not work wonders. It is character that counts. The Swami might originally have had good intentions, but once he became usurer he lost sight of his original object and became an idolator of Mammon instead of God. Because to be a usurer and to do good at the same time is not given to men.

In pecuniary matters, the Swami's principle was based on that of Bismarck that "ends justify the means". Deo observes in the Vividhjnanavistara, "Though the money was spent towards good ends, the Swami's attitude of a merciless money lender was not fit for a sadhu. His thirst for wealth, his usury, his harsh reminders, his various means of recovering money, all these things cannot escape censure only because that money was spent towards good ends. This might even be excused, taking a very broad view, but it certainly can neither be extolled nor imitated."¹

1. Deo - Vividhjnanavistara, Vol.33 nos. 5/6 May-June 1902.

v) His miracles.

It cannot be said why but from times immemorial miracles, saints and prophets seem to have a close association with each other. Modern age of science and reasoning admits no miracles. Many times it has been observed that these miracles are faked, and propagated by the devotees and disciples of a saint.

According to Shaw, it is twisting of the powers of nature by sacred will power of a man.¹ According to Lecky it is the atmosphere of childlike credulity which predisposes men to require and accept these wonders and miracles as events of ordinary occurrence.

It is the gossip/miracles which spreads the fame of the saint. The root of so called miracles is in the attitude of faith in the people. 'Miracle' writes Goethe "is the pet child of Faith".

There is no saint in Maharashtra who has no miracle to his credit. Even today The Saibaba of Shirdi is said to have performed miracles. To Brahmendra Swami also are attributed some miracles. It must, however, be noted that most of the miracles narrated below have been mentioned only in the Bakhar which was written about hundred years after the Swami.

1. Snake Bite.

The Swami before 1700 was staying in the wood of Dhamani near Parshuram. He was then not known to anybody and was quietly performing penance. One day ^acowherd named Balgauli came and offered some green mangoes to this mendicant. The Swami kept these mangoes in a ditch and covered them with leaves. This was seen by the cowherd. After some days the cowherd reminded the Swami of these mangoes. When the Swami removed the leaves, a serpent appeared and bit the hand of the Swami. Being frightened the cowherd took to his heels. He was under the impression that the sanyasin must have died. To this surprise he saw the sanyasin after three days meditating at his usual place. He fell to his feet and since then the fame of the Swami spread.

Here we do not definitely know that the serpent was poisonous or not. It happens many times that all serpents are not poisonous.

Secondly, if it is taken for granted that the serpent was poisonous, the poison could not harm the Swami because of a special reason. The Swami himself has admitted in two of his letters that he was then accustomed to eat the leaves of the seedling 'kadwai' - a very poisonous plant. This plant, it is said, was so poisonous that the eating brought

^{an}
instantaneous death to the cattle. A slow and continuous administering of poison, it is said, brings immunity to the person practicing it.

2. Sailing the creek riding a banana leaf.

The Swami had been to Chiplun at the residence of Balaji Vishwanath. As he desired to see his favourite idol (Parshuram) he sailed across the creek on a banana leaf to the Parshuram temple and returned in the same manner in the middle of night. This was watched by all.

The same demonstration was repeated before Siddi Yakuthan.^K ¹

If we take for granted that the Swami was an adept in Hathayoga, it is possible to believe in these miracles. The Saint Jnaneshwara in his celebrated book Dnyaneshwari has enumerated the miracles that could be performed by a Hathayogin. He says, "What is called study - Yoga is only this very thing, and there is nothing (in the world) that cannot be attained once it is realised. It is on the strength of this study that some walk in the air, while some tame tigers and serpents, some digest poison, while some wade through the sea. (There are) some who on the strength

1 SKBC pp. 4⁵⁶

of this study, make the Vedas their own.¹

2. Miracle at Vishalgad.

Before 1700, Vishalgad was in the Moghal hands. The Swami happened to go there for his annual begging (bhiksha). On enquiry the Swami's man told the officers of Vishalgad that the Swami is a Sanyasin from Parshuram. Thinking that the Swami was a Guru of Parshurampant Pratinidhi who was their enemy, they arrested the Swami and confined him. The Killedar (officer in charge of the fort) was informed by the miracle that the Swami had no relation with Parshurampant, that he hailed from Parshuram and is a great tapasvin (mendicant who performs penance). The commandant therefore presented some clothes to the Swami to honour him and granted him permission to collect bhiksha in his district.

The Swami's trip to Vishalgad is not corroborated by the facts in his correspondence. No letter is available to us telling us of this incident. For the change of heart there was no necessity of a miracle. It is not historically true that Hindu religious mendicants were persecuted under Mohammedan rule.²

1. Dnyaneswari Ch. III 99-113.
2. SKBC pp. 5-6.

4. Performance of Invisibility.

It is said the Swami knew his end ^{coming} about eight months earlier. Chhatrapati Shahu once came to see the Swami at Dhavadshi. The Swami was counting his beads in his math near the tank. When the Swami learnt that the Raja had come, he suddenly disappeared. Jagannath Chimnaji went forward and told the Chhatrapati that the Swami was in the math. When Shahu went there the Swami was not ^{to be found} at his place. Jagannathpant made a thorough search but the Swami was no where to be found. Shahu sent back all his retinue and kept only two servants and the palanquin, and remained in disguise in one farmer's hut. He told Jagannathpant not to let the Swami know his whereabouts after his return. After some hours the Swami reappeared, when Jagannathpant related that the Chhatrapati had been to Dhavadshi to see him, the Swami suddenly burst into anger. "He should not see me. Tulaji Angre discontinued the village Dhalavli granted to me by the Chhatrapati. Why is he not punished for the same?" Jagannathpant then was asked to send for the Chhatrapati.

It is interesting to note that the Swami had performed this miracle for the sake of a village and in order that Tulaji Angre should be punished. Moreover, the sanyasin who can easily perform the miracle of becoming invisible

and who could prognosticate his own death could not know that Shahu was hiding in the same village ! The Swami, it appears, made the people always believe that he could at his will 'disappear'. Sadashivrao Bhau once sent an invitation to the Swami for some ceremony- probably a marriage or a thread ceremony. The Swami wrote to him, " I have got none so dear but you. I shall come to you not only once, but thousand times, and adorn the pendal at your ceremony. To you also, there is none so nearer than God. I might not come openly but might come invisibly and adorn your pendal. As you have faith in me, and as God has been looking after you since your forefathers, he will not leave you aside. "¹

The Swami had told everybody that he could foretell the future. Chimaji believed that the Swami was an angel, that was why he could foretell the future.

5. Sitting on burs at Jejuri.

In 1738, Bajirao had written to the Swami that no rain had fallen that year. The Swami, therefore, went to

Jejuri and spreading 2 pylies of burs, he ~~had~~^{was} squatted on them for an anusthana and decided not to take even the cow's urine until rained. The news has been repeated by Pilaji Jadhav in his letter to the Swami. In his letter to Muktabai Dabhade the Swami wrote, "I sat for one and half month on thorny seeds (saratas) at Jejuri. Yes Patil sat in the village. But he never cared to see me." Pilaji says that God heard the Swami's call and bestowed showers. In all these letters we find that all is hearsay. There is no one who writes that he had seen the Swami practising penance at Jejuri.¹ Even if it is taken for granted that the Swami had sat at Jejuri on burs, it is unwarranted to say that it rained because of his sitting.

Sometimes the Swami told his devotees that God spoke through him. Some profecies were told by God to the Swami. For instance the capture of Janjira was foreboded by the Swami in a letter to Tulaji.²

6. Bringing the Game for the Chhatrapati.

After the occasion of disappearing of the Swami had taken place (described above in IV) the Swami asked Shahu to take his meals at Dhavadshi, assuring him that he

1. PBCL 41, 181, 304.

2. DCHM 12/1105.

would get the game there by God's grace. Shahu was having his meals. Suddenly an antelope came running from the jungle and jumped ^{to} in the tank. The Swami told Shahu that God had sent him the game at that very place. The antelope was caught alive. Shahu showed the antelope to his younger queen Sagunabai when he arrived at Satara.¹

Here it might be said to have been a case of lucky coincidence. Or it is very likely that the antelope was driven to the tank by Swami's men as per the previous order.

It appears that popular cupidity gave rise to several other miracles which are a matter beyond history.

To conclude we can say that the Swami attempted to impress his devotees by spreading the news that he was a wonder worker. In fact the Swami possessed no super-human powers. He was an ordinary human being as all people are with human sentiments. He could not ~~remed~~ the ailment of Chimnajipant Bhagwat and Bapujipant Tambe, his clerks.² He could not save the shrine of Parshuram being despoiled by Siddi Sad.³ He dared not see Siddi Sad through

1. SKBC p.23.

2. DCHM 20/883, 843.

3. PBC p.21

fear in 1727.¹ He ran away from his residence at Dhavadshi because of the goblins set there by Sambhaji Patil.² He cancelled his trip to Manaji for cursing him, because Shahu and Bajirao pointed out the danger to him.³ He could not foretell anything. He had to ask others to know the dates!⁴

In short, the so called miracles of the Swami is merely a propaganda, made by his devotees and himself.

1. PBC p.30

2. Ibid pp.113-114.

3. PBCL 314.

4. DCHM 20/1022.

CHAPTER VI : THE SWAMI'S OUTLOOK

- i) On religion.
- ii) On Society and Ethics.
- iii) On Politics.

CHAPTER VIon

The Swami's outlook of society,
ethics, religion and politics..

(i) On Society.

With the establishment of an independant Hindu state of Shivaji Hinduism and along with it Brahmanism had become ascendant in the Maratha state. For the coming of the Brahmins to the forefront the Brahmin regime of the Peshwa also became largely responsible. The Peshwa patronised the Brahmins and encouraged the religious rites performed by them. Brahmendra Swami took advantage of these favourable circumstances for the Brahmins. He himself performed several religious rites and paid greater deference to the Brahmins.

Though the superiority of the Brahmins was admitted by the Swami he did not consider other castes as lower and despicable than the upper class. At Malshiras and Pimpri he had given a feast to all the villagers including all young and old people, after the anusthana.¹ A similar feast had once been served to 50 Shudras by the Swami. One of these servants of the Swami was a Mohamedan. It is said

after the Bhuleshwar temple was repaired the mosque was removed from near the temple and was separately built by the Swami at the foot of the hill.¹ This shows his tolerance to the Islam. The Siddis of Janjira were on the whole friendly to the Swami.

i) Chitpavans.

Against the Chitpavans the Swami, seems to have a prejudice, though his best devotee Bajirao and his family were Chitpavans. One of his servants who was a Chitpavan, tore a very important document of the Swami. The Swami became irritated and seemed to have lost his temper. He uttered the words. "This action of yours is tolerated because there is a kind king like Shahu. Had any other ruler been there he would have exacted crores of rupees from you. You will suffer the same fate as that of Antaji. You have been treacherous to us. You accursed Chiplunes! You will never have good in your life. Your very catlike eyes and yellowish hair are due to my curse."¹

ii) Marathas.

The villages Dorle and Mahalunge were being troubled by the neighbouring forts of Vishalgad and Mahipatgad. Trimbak Krishna Moghe the Swami's Kamavisdar

at Gothna, therefore suggested to the Swami that these troublesome villages might be handed over to the Sarkhel i.e. Angre. Upon this the Swami wrote.

" You are suggesting that Dorle and Mahalunge should be handed over to the Sarkhel (Angre). But you know (these) Marathas will not hesitate to violate the modesty of their mothers. They cannot be relied upon.¹

The Swami, it is said, was an experienced and aged man at this time. This seems to be his own observation of the contemporary society. Though he had so many Maratha devotees, he had formed this opinion about them.

Under Kanhoji, in Angre's principality in the Konkan, there was a dispute between the Kirwants and the Chitpavans. The Chitpavans had almost excommunicated the Kirwants, though they were also genuine Brahmins. The Swami advised Kanhoji to stop them to be excommunicated and accept them as Brahmins.

At Tathavda near Phaltan the Swami's men were building a well. The Swami's servants played mischief with the Brahmin ladies from that village. The Brahmins from that village lodged a complaint to the Swami. These men were abusing the ladies and breaking their earthen

pots and thus prohibited them from coming to the well. The Swami severely warned his Havaldar Ramaji Ganesh at Tathavada. He wrote " You are playing mischief and name is being spoiled at Satara. Allow these Brahmin ladies to take water and do not trouble them. Otherwise you will be severely taken to task."¹

The Swami wanted to bring about the second marriage of Ramaji Dhonddeo the brother in law of Chimnajipant Bhagwat. Ramaji was serving under Chimaji. The Swami wrote to Chimaji, " If you will help in bringing about the marriage of this Brahmin it will be an act of merit for you".²

At Parshuram one Brahmin had settled near the Shrine. He had earned a lot of money. The Swami seems to be much scared of him. The Brahmin according to the Swami was a pretender and had earned Rs.4000/- in the name of /the Swami. The Swami thought the Brahmin was installed by Shrinivas Pratinidhi. The Pratinidhi denied to have had any connection with that Brahmin. The exact nature of the Swami's hatred for that Brahmin cannot be ascertained, for want of sufficient information.³

1. DCHM 20/669, 908.

2. SPD 9/46

3. PBCL 164, 214. DCHM 12/1105.

(ii) On ethics.

i) The Swami's opinion about the relations between brothers and brothers, between mother and son, and between husband and wife was simple and respectful to the elders. To his dependants he wrote " You all are relatives of the same caste. It is not good on your part to quarrel among yourselves. If you will quarrel again I shall leave this country.¹ To the Queens of the Chhatrapati he advised ~~not~~ to quarrel.² To the Angre brothers the Swami - preached to drive away the antagonism from their minds.³ To Tulaji Angre the Swami wrote, " Both of you brothers unite and try to achieve something great. If you will unite you might capture enemy's forts.⁴

When Jagjivan Pawar insulted his mother by being intoxicated, the Swami severely took him to task.⁵ He asked Tulaji Angre to return the family of Manaji taken into custody by him.⁶ To Manaji Angre he advised to honour

1. R.III 102

2. PBCL 258. For details see chapter 4.

3. Op.cit. 362.

4. PBCL 325. R.III 347, 298.

5. PBCL 307.

6. Ibid 325.

his step mother Mathurabai by bringing her in a palanquin to him.¹

According to the Swami unnecessary abusing was bad. He asked Tulaji to leave abusing. "The Cow is holy animal. One who will abuse a person who is innocent will be abusing a cow. Mercy is the nature of the human world. Tapa is the essence of a yogi and Saints are the core of religion.²

The Swami seems to be insisting on speaking the truth. To Dharmoji Salonkhe he wrote, "Whatever is spoken must be truth only."³ To Sekhoji Angre the Swami wrote, "I had commanded two or three things to you which were not false. Why do people tell a lie? Some tell a lie for their bread. Some have to maintain their families for which they resort to lies. Some fear that unless they tell a lie their state will not survive I have not earned my money by telling a lie."⁴

1. PBCL 328

2. Ibid 258

3. DCHM 20/944.

4. PBCL 316.

These precepts are sound moral principles. But the examples of the Swami's behaviour is in contravention to these precepts. Let us examine some of them.

ii) His abusiveness.

"The Swami" writes Rajwade, "showered dirty abuses like the Kalboas of Poona." Shri Alekar too - accepts that this was true. "He was a little temperate man," writes Alekar, "every body from the Chhatrapati down to the lowest rank tried to pacify him. We cannot deny that the nation benefited from him."¹

The Swami tries to keep his temper in check. "Don't rouse my anger," he writes to Sadashivrao Bhau, "If you will make me angry it will not be good to anybody."² To Mathurabai and Laxmibai Angre he wrote, "If you will not pay off God's dues, your family will become extinct."³ Jivaji Krishna helped one of the debtors of the Swami. The Swami got angry and said that he would burn the house of Jivaji Krishna.⁴ To Tulaji Angre the Swami wrote,

1. Granthmala No.92 p.84

2. PBCL 291.

3. R.III - 294, 340.

4. DCHM 20/959.

" He who will covet God's money, will have his family extinct. He will be suffering for twenty-one births. His forefathers will be thrown into the hell."¹ Once he wrote, " I ask the village for God. I do not ask it to be smashed on my head."²

The Bhagwadgita tells us that a Yogi should have his 'chitta' (mind) well controlled. But the Swami regarded himself as the ancient temperates sages like Vishwamitra and Durvasa. According to Athley his ^{hot} temper was momentary.³ It does not appear so. For some persons the Swami nourished a long-standing hatred. It may however be noted that Vishwamitra & Durvasa are not the model examples of temperate men in Puranas.

iii) His Vanity and Narcissism.

The Swami's chief motive was that he made his devotees feel that his power was next to God's. He could curse a person to hell, he could raise a person to the highest worldly honour. In settling the marriages, purchasing of pearls, corals, jewels and ornaments, selecting of elephants and horses, the Swami thought he was the most expert person.⁴ He thought that no one could oppose him in his undertaking. He always preached that he yearned

1. PBCL 322.

2. DCHM 12/1106

3. Kesari, Athley's Article 31st Jan.1905.

4. DCHM 20/548. R.III 304, 287.

- - for honour and that everybody should guard his honour in preference to one's ego. He regarded himself as the greatest influential personality of the time. When he undertook to bring the Siddi's elephant from Savnur, he is said to have expressed that he needed no permit of any state.¹ If Bajirao defeated the Nizam, it was because the Swami had bestowed the Nizam's dominion upon him. When Balaji Vishwanath arrested Damaji Thorat it was the Swami, so willed. To Chimajiappa the Swami had already wished the grant of Bassein three time and maintained that that was why he could conquer it immediately.²

"The Swami," says Rajwade, "was in the habit of frightening the Maratha nobility by threats of the followings boast. "I have cursed Sambhaji Angre to ashes." I have released Tulaji from chains. I have killed demon like Sidd Sad. I sent Kanhoji Angre into hell. Think of the condition of Viroobai to which I reduced her."³

He always paraded his honours to his devotees in order that they should behold him with awe and respect. "Viroobai gave me Rs. 2000." "I blessed the Chhatrapati that he would have a son". "Viroobai gave me a dulai."

1. PBC p. 19, DCHM 12/1051.
2. DCHM 20/872 B, PBCL 283, 54
3. PBCL 291. R.III Pr.p. 186.

"Ranoji has given me a shawl"; "The queens have been invited into the path of spiritual life by me." "Fatesing honoured me with a palanquin." My 'Vairagya' is like Shuka." These were some of his boast to the different sardars in the Maratha nobility.¹ Thus the Swami boasted that everything happened according to his blessings or curses. His faithful devotees were led by his self adulation. Plutarch's remark that 'lovers of flattery generally lack merit' appears to be true in case of the Swami.

iv) His jealousy and vindictiveness.

The Swami was a bundle of contradictions. He posed as a sadhu before the people, and lacked almost all the virtues of a real saint. He felt jealousy for other people. One Brahmin at Parshuram was earning money. The Swami felt an intense jealousy towards that Brahmin and made attempts to remove him by suffering it to Angres and the Pratinidhi who were competent to do the needful. Pilaji was related to the Angres. To Manaji Angre the Swami wrote about Pilaji. "Pilaji is a great imposter. Dont rely on him."² To Sadashivrao Bhau he wrote, "Pilaji Jadhav has earned a lot of money since the time of Balaji Nana. He must be

1. PBCL 310,266,296,12 298,322, 315, 369.

2. Ibid 326

having two-three crores of rupees. Make it convenient to recover some amount from him."¹ He regarded other Sardars except the Peshwa as sinners in Shahu's court, and wrote to the Peshwa that they intended to harm him. Sometimes he praised Khanderao Dabhade and at other place we find him warning the Peshwa against the machinations of Khanderao. To Tulaji he wrote that even the work of Bajirao and the enough if Pratinidhi^x was not laudable/compared to him.² In a fragment of/letter the Swami says, " He has insulted me once. I cursed him. His nose has been cut. I am writing this to you because he is shameless. He is so worthless that he might pick up a coin fallen in the dirt."³ This remark appears to be either about Sambhaji Angre or some other Maratha sardar.

v) Back biting and tale bearing.

As a matter of fact the Swami should have treated all his devotees equal. But he favoured some and hated others. He cursed Sambhaji Angre while writing to Tulaji. To Manaji he wrote of the bad deeds of Sambhaji. He prejudiced the minds of the Peshwas against other ministers. To Tulaji he wrote ill about the Pratinidhi and the Peshwas.

1. PBCL 293.

2. Ibid 287, 268, 275. DCHM 20/451, 881.

3. DCHM 12/1048.

In a letter probably written to some members of Peshwa's family the Swami writes, "Send Babuji Naik as per my letter. If I will bless him he would be triumphant and would come to see you. God also blesses him and he would be successful".¹ But to Fatesing he wrote, "Don't make friends with Babuji Naik. He is a rogue and a great sinner. He will not do any good to you. He is a savkar and a most accursed man. Don't make friends with him. I am not in good terms with him. That is why I am giving you this warning. Keep these things to yourself and cut off the friendship with him. If you will befriend him soon you will realise the truth of my warning".

He was so enraged with Sambhaji that he contemplated nothing else but his annihilation. He never forgave a slight.²

vi) His cruelty and high-handedness.

The Swami has been extolled so far as a Saint. A saint, is supported to be a kind man always full of mercy. "When the world conflegrates" wrote Saint Muktabai, "the saint's words must descend like ~~a~~ water. Whoever wishes to be a saint must have the power of forbearance". The saints of the highest order regard the whole humanity as God's children who are born equal. The Swami desired that some people should

1. DCHM 12/1048, 1097, PBCL 268, 287. DCHM 20/1034.

2. PECL 300

suffer. He pronounced dire curses upon some persons who were once his devotees. He felt no pity in throwing Kanhoji, who were in life intimate & obliging towards him. Sakhoji and Sambhaji Angre into hell. As already has been pointed in the px foregoing paragraphs that once he said that Jivaji Krishna's house should be burnt in the mid day.¹

To Trimbak Krishna Moghe at Gothana, the Swami wrote, "As you suggest you may speak to Angre about Dorle and Mahalunge. If they will agree, well and good. Otherwise get the revenue of the villages collected by any means. Do not cherish any hope about them. If the villages will be deserted let them be. Let the villages be laid waste but do me the favour". It is worth noting here that the great saint (viz. the Swami) feels no pity for the villagers and cares only for his revenue.²

Similarly the Swami felt no qualms of conscience in carrying on forced labour (wethbigari) in his inam villages. His precept was objected to the wethbigari of others but his own example was otherwise. Wethbigari in one sense was a slavery and an injustice and tyranny on the individuals but was then quite common. It might have been excused for ordinary persons but for a saint it was certainly censurable.³

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1. DCHM 20/959
 2. Ibid 20/1062
 3. R.III 105.

Sona Rangari, one of the Swami's debtors was put in chains and stocks for not returning the Swami's money in time, by Swami's order. Tukaji Patil and Baka Mali did not pay off the Swami's debt. Their sons, therefore, were kept as hostages on the fort Purandar. The servant of Bavaji Shirdeo had taken the ~~e~~rings^{ear-} and the ring of the goldsmith from Virmade. The Swami's men arrested that servant in the absence of his owner and brought him to Dhavadshi. The Swami personally flogged him with a cudgel and got one side of his mustache shaved by means of a razor by his servant. Bawaji Shirdeo wrote to the Swami, "The question was of only one hundred rupees. But a holy and great saint like you should ~~swoop~~st so low is indeed an unprecedented deviation.¹" The tailors from Malshiras who were the Swami's debtors were arrested and kept in confinement on the fort Purandar. The Swami instructed the commandant to exact a whole day work from the tailors and in the evening to give twenty five strokes of footwear on their further heads, so that they would never/withhold God's (i.e. the Swami's) money.¹

The Swami had quarrels with the Patils from Dhavadshi Virmade and Malshiras. In the house of the Patil from Virmade the Swami's servants had done some vandalism for which Viroobai had given a severe warning to the Swami.²

1. DCHM 20/621, 622, 652, 653, 868.

2. For details see chapter 4.

Thus we find that forbearance was rare in the Swami's nature, while his high-handedness and wanton attitude was not worthy of a saint.¹

vii) His quarrelsomeness.

Saints are supposed to have no enemies, and they never hate anyone. The Swami, however, had some enemies and he hated many persons. He bore ill-will towards Yamaji Shivdeo and Bawaji Shivdeo. He complained about Shankarbhata Upadhyaya Murudkar, Anant Prabhu and Kanada and Neel Thakur who criticised him to their hearts content and abused him.²

The Swami spoke about Pilaji Jadhav as an imposter and complained about Govind Ramji Thakur and Bawaji Takpir who troubled him. He ~~had~~ quarreled with Kanhoji, Sambhaji and Tulaji Angre.³

Babuji Naik was in his opinion a great sinner. The ministers in Shahu's court were villainous.

Since his arrival and settlement at Dhavadshi the Swami had bitter differences with the Patils from Dhavadshi.

1. DCHM 20/197.

2. PBCL 215, 1.

3. Ibid 326, 76.

Virmade and Malshiras. The Patil of Virmade, according to the Swami, was mischievous.

The Patils were almost like kings in their villages. They were, for centuries, enjoying the privileges. They were, therefore, bound to be arrogant and turbulent. But the Swami was a saint. His indulging in these petty quarrels do not befit him.

Anandi and Radhu two of the Swami's maid servants also had left Dhavadshi because of a quarrel with him. About Lingi and Sajani the Swami had reported to the queens for their misbehaviour and offered to exchange them.¹ The Swami, it appears, was himself inclined towards discord. Many times he wrote to his devotees that he was prepared to dispense with them at any time.² He once remarked to Tulaji Angre, " Just as Sudama benefitted by his - friendship with Lord Krishna, whoever will behave justly with me will also be benefited. But those who would be antagonistic to me would have to suffer the fate of Ravana. " ³

1. DCHM 20/905, 1032, R.III 278.

2. Ibid 20/958

3. R.III 298.

(iii) On religion.

In India, since ages, religion held a powerful sway over the people. In the four stages of man's life in Hinduism the last viz. of a Sanyasin's was of great honour and respect. The Swami regarded himself as a sanyasin and professed himself to be the guardian of the people.

i) Ganapati and Mahadeo worship.

Since his childhood the Swami was the worshipper of Ganapati. It was his everyday practice to make earthen images of Ganapati and Mahadeo; and after worshipping to immerse them in water with the chanting of mantras. On the Sankasti Chaturthi every month he stood on one leg till the rising of the moon and performed penance. He had the strange gift of passing every year into a religious trance (Samadhi), from the first of Shravana (July) to the fourth of Bhadrapad (August) a period of 34 days.¹

ii) Adoption and propagation of Parshuram worship.

After his establishment in the Konkan, the Swami observed that Parshuram was much esteemed in that region. He, therefore, adopted that deity. Finding the circumstances quite favourable the Swami preached that ~~the~~ himself was the incarnation of Parshurama.² He decided to reconstruct the

1. SKBC p.4

2. DGHM 20/1036

Parshurama temple because he thought that in the Kaliyuga, there is no end to the merit of a man who builds temples.¹ He built temples of Bhargava at Gothana, Pimpri and Mardhe. He made a propaganda of the Parshuram worship among his devotees. He collected money by mendicancy and spent part of this money in building ~~of~~ temples and other public works such as tanks and wells.

iii) Religious rites.

The Swami had faith in vedic (religious) rites. We find him performing many religious rites for the Peshwas, the Chhatrapatis and the Angres. At Gothana an Atirudra was performed by Trimbak Krishna Moghe, /Swami's Kamavisdar, at his behest /Ganeshpant Tambe performed a Maharudra at Parshurama by the order of the Swami by means of Japa (Incantations). Rs.30/- were spent at Parshuram for the daxina of the Brahmins. A feast was given to 200 Brahmins.²

For the sake of Nana Saheb Peshwa's victory the Swami proposed to perform three Maharudras. He suggested to Sadashivrao Bhau that he would spend for two Maharudras and the Peshwa should subscribe for one. The Peshwa

1. PBCL 309.
2. DCHM 12/626

does not seem to have paid any heed to the Swami's suggestion.¹

In 1745, for the sake of Swami's Archa cocoanut,
nalia
utensils and other parapher^r was supplied by Angres from
Gopalgad and Govindgad.²

The Swami had once ordered Sadashivrao Bhau to give daxina to Anantbhat and seven other Brahmins. Bhau complied with the Swami's order.³

once
A proposal was/made by the Swami to Nanasaheb Peshwa for getting employed two Brahmins for an Abhisheka to - Merulinga, like the previous year. He ordered Nanasaheb to pay Rs.23/- to the Brahmins as daxina. The Peshwa wrote that he did not wish to give the daxina for Abhisheka to the Brahmins every year. He, however, reluctantly sent Rs.23/- along with Somaji, the Swami's servant and requested the Swami to carry out the Abhisheka to Merulinga in the month of Sravana. The Peshwa further wrote to the Swami that daxina would not be given to the Brahmins of Merulinga thereafter.⁴

1. PBCL 165, 291.

2. DCHM 12/1060

3. Op.cit. 164.

4. PBCL 157

In 1737 a suggestion for a unique Homa (sacrifice) was made by the Swami to Chimaji Appa. He wrote, "One Homa was made by the Brahmins at Meru. This Homa I am going to do personally. Send me blue coloured tapta (a kind of rich cloth) to be put in the Homa. For this Homa, nutmeg, cloves and pepper are necessary. As these things are available in the store room, please do not send them". Chimaji sent Rs.103/- and 5 yds. of blue coloured tapta for the sake of homa and requested the Swami to perform the Homa as he desired.¹ In 1733 the Swami applauded Sambhaji Angre of addressing him as the king/Konkan. He further wrote to him, "In the Kingdom of Shivajiraja, there were Mahapurush like Mounibawa and Bawa Yakut. In your kingdom also there Mahapurush (Like myself). It will be beneficial, meritorious and conducive to your victory if you perform Yajnas". The object of these Yajnas was to defeat the enemies and capture enemy ships. Sambhaji agreed to supply the material. We do not know whether the Swami's plan materialised or not.² These ceremonies were performed for the fulfilment of the worldly desires of the performers. That proves that Sambhaji Angre had faith in these Yajnas.

1. PBCL 131

2. R.III 273

When the Shiva temple of Poornagad was build the ceremony of consecration was performed by the Swami at his own cost. Sambhaji Angre supplied the necessary material.¹ The Swami instructed Trimbak Krishna Moghe to carry out the works. Fifty Brahmins were to be employed for this work. Each of the Brahmins was to be given Re. 1/- as daxina and the feast was to be given to them.² For making an Anusthan 2 Khandies of sesamum seeds was purchased by the Swami.³ In December 1733 the Swami had vowed to the Bhuleshwar a Samaradhana (a common prayer feast) of 1000 Brahmins to ward off the attack of the English ships on Angre and to defeat them⁴. To make Anusthanas at Meruling in the month of Shravan Chimaji sent Rs. 15/- to the Swami. Rs. 10/- of these were to be given to the Brahmins as daxina and Rs. 5/- were to be spend for their feast.⁵ Sambhaji Pawar borrowed Rs. 100/- for a feast to be given to Brahmins which the Swami had arranged.⁶ Thus we find that the Swami took keen interest in Yajnas and Anusthanas.

1. DCHM 20/862
2. Ibid 20/862, R.III 262.
3. R.III 269
4. PBCL 311.
5. Ibid 137
6. DCHM 20/559

iv) Building works.

The Swami believed that in the Kaliyuga there is no limit to the merit of a man who builds temples. He also believed that bridges, wells, tanks should be built for the people because no work would be more religious and pious than these. The Swami spent nearly ten lacs of rupees on or about 50 constructions of public utility, and religious shrines.¹

v) His ideas of a Guru.

The 'Guru' is always held high in the Hindu religion. The Chandogya Upanishad says, "Only when studied under a proper teacher does any knowledge become efficacious." Sages like Dhaumya, Durvasa, Vishwamitra and Vasistha have immortalised themselves by their high estimate as 'Gurus'. Brahmendra Swami ranked himself with these great gurus. He firmly believed that a king must have a religious preceptor. Citing some examples from History and Puranas the Swami says that the great Shivaji worshiped Mounibawa and Baba Yakut. (Mark, he does not mention Ramdas!). Like him the Swami preached that Angres and the Chhatrapati should have a guru like himself. In the Stayayuga, Raja Harischandra had as his Guru Vishwamitra. Jalandarnath, the Guru of Kanifnath was well known. King Gopichandra's mother Maminavati worshipped Machhindranath as her guru.²

1. PBCL 309, 298.

2. DCHM 20/891

vi) The fifth ashrama

Every Brahmin is supposed to pass through four Ashramas or four fold system of life. These were :-

1. Unmarried student (Brahma carin)
2. Married house holder (Grihastha)
3. Anchorite (Vanaprastha)
4. Religious devotee(Parivrajaka or Sanyasin)

The Swami seems to have devised a fifth Ashrama which he has mentioned in two of his letters. By this he probably means the Jivanmukta stage in religious growth or the law of inertia by which a soul that has been emancipated must not voluntarily end his life but continue a dis-passionate life like the rotation of a potter's wheel after the pot has been shaped and removed. The mystical aspect of the Swami's life and mention of Kanifnath and Machindranath in his letters is indicative of the impressions of the Nath sect in the Swami's days.

He writes, " Mine is the fifth Ashrama. I should not make disciples ". Again to Sambhaji Angre he wrote " Whatever my undertakings be, I must see them through.

Because mine the fifth Ashrama".¹ The details of this fifth Ashrama are not known.

vii) His ideas of hell and heaven.

The Swami carried on his usury in the name of God. He regards his money as God's money. He who would keep God's money, i.e. would not pay it in time, was not only to get hell, but was to suffer many births hereafter. The Swami wrote to Tulaji, "He who will with-hold God's money will have to dig for twentyone births. The same curses were repeated by the Swami to Laxmibai and Mathurabai Angre.² As if by simply paying off the Swami's money in time the forefathers could be switched off immediately to heaven.³

viii) Curses.

There is a superstition amongst the devotees of a saint that his abnormal behaviour or his abuses and curses are his blessings and favour in disguise. The Swami seems to be aware of this superstition. We find him many times using obscene language to his devotees, including the Queens. Once he asked a piece of land from Viroobai and wrote to her that if the land would be granted he would go there for lavatory purposes only.⁴ The language used to the Queen shows lack of decorum in the Swami.

1. DCHM 20/891. PBCL 310.

2. PBCL 322. R.III 294.

3. Ibid 322.

4. DCHM 20/1029

Fatesingh Bhonsale had promised two cows to the Swami. One was sent to the Swami. The Swami asked for the price of the other and further wrote that after drinking the cow's urine and whey he would abuse Fatesing, which would be conducive to his prosperity.¹

To Manaji he wrote, "Since you are God's incarnate I take the liberty of abusing you five hundred times a day so that you may be useful to me at the end.²

In case of his curses the Swami took the advantage of the fallacy 'post hoc argo propter hoc'. He preached that Kanhoji and Sambhaji Angre died because of his curses. Chimnaji Damodar became prisoner because he had ordained it beforehand. Similarly he told Bajirao that it was 'he' who had given the Mogul (i.e. the Nizam) to him. About Bassein he wrote to Chimaji that he should not bother about Bassein because God has to worry about hundred times more than him.³

ix) Incomprehensible writing.

The Swami sometimes is seen writing inconsistent improper and incomprehensible things in his letters e.g. once he wrote, "The serpent is in the hole and is hissing by raising its hood. Don't believe it." The person to whom this was written asked the Swami what that hole was and

1.DCHM 20/953

2.PBCL 327

3.Ibid 322. DCHM 20/860

who was the serpent. Similarly to Siddi Sad, the Swami once wrote, "Will it be fair if a golden salver with its broken edge is presented"? The Siddi asked him what that golden salver was and who broke its edge.¹ In a letter to one Baba, the Swami writes, " Pandavas performed a sacrifice at Hastinapur. Sahadeo took the bhiksha and millions of bells began tolling - Your name too will spread in the state.² To Queen Sagunabai he wrote, " The guru left me because two hundred years have passed since I became a Sanyasin, and I came to serve you. You are Nirguna and Saguna."³ His writing appears to be a bundle of paradoxes.

It appears sometimes the Swami regarded himself also as Sri Krishna. Krishna was the cowherd in Gokula. The Swami wrote to some of his disciples that he was the cowherd and looked after the kine of those who were devotees of Hari(God).⁴ Many times he wrote to his disciples that he was the dust of the feet of the saints. To Bapuji Shripat (Chitrav) he once wrote, " I am the dust of the feet of those who are like you."⁵

His methods of addressing and praising his devotees was peculiar. To the Chhatrapati, the Peshwa and Angres he assured that he was their sentinel (jagali).⁶ The

1. PBCL 340. DCHM 20/762
2. DCHM 20/948
3. Ibid 20/1072
4. PBCL 290, 324, 371.
5. DCHM 20/860, PBCL 327.
6. PBCL 255, 274, 273, 281.

following forms of his addresses are worth noting.

Yogabhrasta Yogamata Sakwarbai, Sahasrayu Chiranjiva Maharaj, Gangajanhvisaman Matusri Radhabai, Mananirmal Gangal Acharye Punyashila Bhaktraraj, Chhatrapati Maharaj Jatashankar. He compared the Queens to Renuka (mother of Parshuram meaning his own), Parvati (wife of Shiva), mother of Rishishwar, rivers Ganga and Janvi. Bajirao,Chimaji and Bakaji Mahadik were compared to Rama, Laxmana and Hanuman respectively. The Swami's method of giving parallels and illustrations from mythology, puranas and epics deserve a mention here.

"Rishyashringa gave rice-balls to Kausalya, Kaikai and Sumitra. They took them credulously and they got sons. You also take this powder with faith. You will have sons."¹

(To Queen Sagunabai)

"After having played the dice the Pandavas started for the jungle. Their mother Kunti asked Shri Krishna, " You are going to Dwarka. What will be our lot hereafter?" Krishnanath then replied, " I am nog going to Dwarka. I am never in the company of your sons. People think that I have gone to Dwarka. If I wculd forget the Pandavas for just a moment, then think that my life is

finished." Thus he promised her. Kunti and some other devotees asked Krishna, " If Pandavas are your ardent devotees, why were they forced to resort to the jungle?" Krishna replied, " They are sent to the jungle in order that they should perform tapa. With the power of that tapa they would destroy the Kauravas."¹

(To Chimaji Appa)

"The Sun god gave his ear-rings and armour to Karna. Shri Bhargava (i.e. the Swami) also has sent you the armour from his body. Rahu was in the hollow of the hands of Duryodhana. He distributed immense wealth. But it could not be exhausted. Still his name did not last. And people still praise the fame of the Pandavas in the three lokas. Similarly there are many devotees here. But you are superior to them like the Pandavas."²

(To Udaji Pawar)

"The Pandava Arjun fulfilled the wishes of Shrikrishna. The Pandavas were obedient, loyal and humble in their service to Shrikrishna. God, therefore, got their enemies defeated by them and let them rule the world. Pandavas succeeded because God bestowed favour on them.³

(To Chimaji Appa).

1. PBCL 285.

2. Ibid 306

3. Ibid 283.

x) Power of Cow's urine.

Though the Swami possessed no miraculous or super-human powers he made his devotees believe /by giving them threats of curses. He made them believe that the cow's urine he threatened to throw, had wonderful superhuman destructive powers.

To the queens he wrote, " Don't quarrel with the Chhatrapati. If you will quarrel I shall leave this country and throw cow's urine upon you." To Kashibai Bhonsale he asked to arrest the tailors who had fled from Malshiras to their state. He threatened, " If you will not obey me I shall throw cow's urine upon you and come there personally."¹ There is no instance on record showing anybody suffering from the Swami's threatened cow's urine.

xi) Mantras and Amulets.

The Swami had given some mantra to the two queens of Shahu (Sagunabai and Sakwarbai) the faithful chanting of which he told, would give them sons. He also gave them powder which was to be taken for twenty-one days in the morning mixed with Raypuri sugar.

1. PBCL 258, 296.

To one of the Maratha sardars the Swami had given a similar mantra, by the power of which he told, his enemies would be defeated. He gave him two amulets also.¹ The Swami had blessed Chhatrapati Shahu also for a son.² To the daughter in law of Umabai Dabhade a son was born. The Swami told her that the birth of her grandson was due to his - blessings.³

xii) His vows and oaths.

The Swami himself believed in the power of oaths and vows. Before his coming up the Ghats, Kanhoji Angre had bound him by an oath. The Swami therefore did not leave Konkan till Kanhoji relieved him from that oath. He had himself prescribed oaths to Chimaji. "The Shenvi has insulted me. Punish him. If you don't punish him Parshuram's oath would be harming you". To Chimnaji Bhagwat he ordered not to send vegetables and grapes to him on oath.⁴

The Swami wrote a letter to Mahadaji Govind Kakirde and asked him to show that letter to Damaji Gaikwad only

1. PBCL 258, 260, DCHM 12/1063. For details see Chap.IV

2. Ibid 310

3. Ibid 304

4. Ibid 286. DCHM 20/843.

on an oath of his father.¹

During the civil war in the Angre's house in 1740 Tulaji was captured by the Peshwa. The Swami informed Sambhaji Angre that he had made a vow to God to bestow 30putalyas (gold pieces) to God for the release of Tulaji and for the fulfilment of Sambhaji's wishes. For the sake of a son for the queen the Swami vowed to God that unless a son was born to her he would not see the shrine of Parshuram. To Venkatesh he vowed that when a son would be born to the queen he would present mohors (gold coins) to him and serve a grand feast to the Brahmins.²

xiii) Prophecies.

Many times the Swami wrote to his devotees that he could prognosticate things. It is really paradoxical that the Swami sometimes could not understand the almanac himself. Because we find him asking Ambaji Trimbak Purandare on what day of the week Chaturthi would be falling.³

1. PBCL 367

2. DCHM 20/930

3. Ibid 20/1022

Chimaji believed that the Swami was an incarnation of God; as such he could prognosticate things, which nobody else could do. He wrote to Chimaji, " Write to Bajirao that till the month of Jyestha he should not trust anybody in that distant province. He should not accept meals, eatables, water and betel nut leaves from anybody". The Swami further instructed that Chimaji himself, Bhau and Nana Saheb also must take the same care for themselves.

" Once the Jyestha is past," wrote the Swami, " You have no fear for many days. You will rule peacably for a long time."¹ To Tulaji Angre the Swami wrote, "During the daily obeissance God told me that Matangad, Janjira and Kasa would be captured by you. I have sent you an armour because I came to know this before hand.² Letter No.358 in Rajwade's volume III appears to be the actual command of God through the Swami, (expressed of course by the Swami).

xiv) Belief in ghosts and goblins.

The Swami was a superstitious person. He believed in ghosts and goblins. Raghunath Hari (Gupte), Angre's sardar had some trouble, for which he desired to see the shrine of Dhootpapeshwar. But the Swami advised him to go to Gothana and visit the shrine of Bhargavaram. At the

1. PBCL 131.

2. DCHM 12/1105.

Swami's residence at Dhavadshi Antaji Narayan Bhagwat was appointed in place of Anturkar. Anturkar set the ghosts on Antajipant with the object of doing him evil. The Swami consulted the oracle for this.¹

Ambaji Patil of Dhavadshi set ghosts on the clerks of the Swami. People in Bhagwat's family fell ill and there was even a report of a death. The cattle in their house died. The Swami therefore ordered an exorcist from Suvarna-durga, who told that these were the two ghosts set by Ambaji Patil, who were doing mischief at the Swami's residence. The Swami, therefore, lodged a complaint with Chhatrapati Shahu.² There was a similar trouble of the Goddess (a local deity) at the fort Rasalgad.³ At Gothana, Ghag, his wife and Yesji were possessed by ghosts. When they were taken to a exorcist, he told them that the two ghosts were set by other exorcist while one of the ghosts belonged to Ghanekar. The writer of this letter requested the Swami to drive out these spirits. We have no knowledge of what the Swami had done, in this case.⁴ Bajirao and Chimaji Appa had taken two images (dev) from the Swami with a sentiment

1. DCHM 20/645.

2. PBCL 254.

3. PBC pp. 114-115.

4. DCHM 12/651.

of devotion. The Swami had a serious illness afterwards. He wrote to both of them, "Had those two images been with me I would not have fallen ill. Ganpati and Bhuloba alone could not do anything."¹

xv) His samadhi.

In his youth, at Rajur and afterwards in the woods of Dhamani Songaon near Parshuram the Swami is said to have performed a penance. In his later years it became his custom to go into Samadhi from Shravana Shudha Pratipada (July - August) to Bhadrapada Shuddha Chaturthi (Aug. Sept.). At Parshuram the Swami sat at an enclosed place, about six feet broad in a big cave at Songaon, 4 miles away from Parshuram counting his beads. There was a small entrance for this enclosure which was afterwards almost closed. The same process was continued at Virmade when the Swami came up the ghats. It is said he took cow's urine & a handful of green chillies, and whey/daily through a small hole kept for the purpose.² The further details of this Samadhi are not known. Whether the Swami used to ^{exercise} 'Pranayama'; or what 'mantra' he chanted during this samadhi is totally unknown. But the ^{concluding} day of the Samadhi (Samadhi - Visarjan)

1. PBCL 276.

2. SKBC 39

was celebrated with pomp, and ceremony. Many people gathered. The Swami was taken in procession to Dhavadshi in a palanquin. Rich clothes were presented and donations offered were made on this occasion by the visitors. The Swami also gave in return as (prasad) -- grace to his devotees certain things. His annual tour was an important item after this samadhi. The Swami collected funds (bhiksha) from his ^w healthier disciples in the name of Bhargava,¹ during these tours. It is likely that the Swami might have achieved some superhuman powers (Siddis) by means of his ' Hatayoga '. His end, however, occurred during the performance of his Samadhi.

1. SKBC 12, 28.

(iv) On Politicsi) Maratha Nobility:

Leaving aside the Kolhapur branch, the Maratha State of Shahu was an autonomous state within the Mughal empire, a thing in contrast to Shivaji's sovereign independent state. With the coming of Shahu two doctrines were introduced in the Maratha Politics.

- i) Shahu became a subordinate of the Mughal emperor.
- ii) The feudal system - confederacy - was introduced.

This resulted in dividing the Marathas into three distinct groups.

1) Maratha captains like Chandrasen, Rambaji Nimbalkar, Nemaji Shinde etc. became the servants of the Nizam on the eastern side of Maharashtra and thus supported the Mughal empire.

2) The second group remained under the Peshwas in Central Maharashtra.

3) The third group consisted of the Marathas between Varna and Tungabhadra under Tarabai and Sambhaji of Kolhapur. The history of the eighteenth century Marathas is nothing but the internecine war amongst these three groups. --

The success of Peshwa's group depended upon either weaken or annihilate the other two groups. They failed in accomplishing their both objects because of the first blunder at the root. That was the acceptance of - subordination by Shahu.¹ to the Mughals.

ii) The Swami's Political Outlook :

It is very doubtful whether the Swami had seen the reign of Shivaji. He, however, seems to be recalling the reign of Aurangzeb as he died in 1707. From his point of view, Chandrarao More and the Raja of Shringarpur were captains of valour. In politics, according to the Swami Bismarckian might must be the right.² From his point of view the Maratha state of Shahu was without any order. The Swami once wrote to Chimaji, " Rule of law appears to be totally absent in this state." Your servants are insubordinate and devoid of loyalty. They over-ride you. The king is too kind and the servants are dishonest. Everyone fills his own coffer. Aurangzeb's rule was more stern and disciplined. A tiger (like Shivaji) alone could pounce upon him. That is why Jinji had fallen (to Shivaji).

1. Shejwalkar - Nizam Peshwa Relation. pp. 19-20.

2. DCHM 20/890. R.III 249.

The king is too weak in the administration. How is this going to work ? " The Swami's criticism appears to be true when applied to the rule of the Peshwa. The relation between the master and the servant right from the Chhatrapati to the lowest rank lacked in integrity such a state was bound to be a building raised on sand.¹

The Swami loved the land of Konkan and was proud of Maharashtra. To Chimaji he sent a congratulatory letter after his victory in the battle of Amzera in the Malwa in November 1728, and further added, " Though you have won a signal victory it is still of no avail so long as the Lord of your native land (viz. Parshuram) remains without worship. Your own people and your family are still suffering. All your victories are useless so long as your people are not bettered and your God is not worshipped (in freedom and) with ceremony". In another letter he tells Chimaji, "Though you might take Delhi by assault all your valour is useless without your Swadesh" (i.e. Maharashtra).²

In his opinion Bajirao was a captain par excellence, who had achieved three great triumphs in his life. They were i) helping the Sayyads, ii) Invasion of Delhi and

1. PBCL 280. Shejwalkar, Nizam - Peshwa relations p. 74.
2. Ibid 283, DCHM 12/1049.

iii) defeat of Mughal i.e. the Nizam. The Swami even belittled Shivaji in comparing Bajirao's accomplishments with him. "Shivaji had 40,000 horses in the battle. But he dared not fight the Mughal in an open battle (and always went in for Guerilla warfare). You alone could do it ! " In another letter addressed to Bajirao and Chimaji he wrote, " I have carried on about - 20 works of Bhargava in the Konkan. Now you must take charge of your native land. You strike terror in the hearts of your enemies ! At Delhi and Agra they shut the doors in the very daylight (when they hear of your arrival !) (Though Shivaji had to exert for capturing Jinji). You might take Jinji by one stroke of your foot-wear !" After the meeting of Bajirao and the Nizam at Roherameshwari in 1732 the Swami was informed by Purandare that the meeting was a grand success. The Swami became so jubilant that he ordered the firing of x five gun-shots and the sounding of drums. He even celebrated the moment by distributing sugar. The Swami was aware that Shahu owed the prosperity of his state to Peshwa.¹ These extracts are sufficient to reflect the political sentiments of the Swami. The Swami's mind was incapable of understanding the difference between a Shivaji and a Bajirao. He had no understanding of the place of diplomacy in politics. He was ignorant of the various means of warfare.

We are very much doubtful whether the Swami had any

1. SPD 9/22, 33/442, 10/85, DCHM 20/1033.

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sense of patriotism like his contemporaries though he was proud of being a Maratha. He once wrote to Muktabai Dabhadi (Umabai), "Rambhaji Nimbalkar described Shahu's cause. Does he not earn his livelihood all the same ? Chandrasen Jadhav and Sultanji Nimbalkar similarly left him. The latter got a strong seat as a jagir. So many have given up the service of Shahu¹ ----Gaikwad went to other place but still he is getting his bread --- Give them (something) to grease their palms; and please Kiliijkhan (the Nizam) and the Chhatrapati." (The last sentence has not been correctly read from the original by Parasnisi¹. It must be marked that the Swami is asking Umabai to win the favour of the Nizam. The Swami felt no shame in either accepting or demanding village from the Siddi and the Nizam. Prior to the Janjira War, the Swami had asked Sambhaji of Kolhapur to arrange the despatch of the Nizam's letters to the Siddi through his dominion. He writes to Queen Sagunabai, "I had an intention to see the Nabab Mugal and ask a village from him and come back in a palanquin to see you. Unfortunately I could not see him. When I was in the Konkan I had been granted four villages (by the Siddi) which is already known to you. When Baji was living he used to say, "I shall take you to Kiliijkhan and make him grant you five villages." He is dead and gone. Otherwise he would have materialised his premise. You would have then realised. You could not give the villages to a meritorious person...

like me. You wanted to grant them to undeserving persons.¹ The Swami writes this without any regard for the Queen who was loyal to the king under whose patronage he was staying! The Swami wanted to secure the villages from the Nizam and parade his exploits in a palanquin to the Queen of the Chhatrapati. He wanted to speak his mind to the Queen when said "if you are not granting me the village I shall secure it from your yavana enemy."²

3. The Swami and Contemporary Politics.

Parasnisi has argued that Brahmendra Swami was the prime mover (premium mobile) behind the contemporary politics. To discuss this it is necessary to know what the contemporary politics was. Parasnisi further states, " To succeed in the diplomacy, we do not know what means were employed by the Swami."³

The contemporary politics consisted of two important factors.

- (i) Internal diplomacy against various potentates
 - (ii) External expansion.
-

1. PBCL 259.

2. Shejwalkar, Nizam Peshwa Relations p.75.

3. PBC p.86

The external expansion had already started before the death of Aurangzeb. Jadhav, Dabhade, Bande, Angre and Bhonsale these sardars had started their ravages in the Mughal provinces of Berar, Khandesh, Gujrat and Konkan and exacted Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi. Since the return of Shahu from the Mughal camp the Maratha state had become an autocratic state within the Mughal empire ruled by a hereditary king with the help of a council of ministers. Shahu had added the feudatory nobility. These noblemen were to manage the revenue, military and civil affairs within their jagirs and give a fixed sum to Chhatrapati. This system was devised by Balaji Vishwanath. Gradually the Peshwa occupied a superior position in the council of ministers. A majority of ministers were having sympathy to Tarabai. When both these systems were coming into execution, the Swami had just started his long tour in the Konkan with a view to collect money for the reconstruction of the temple of Parshurama. The feudal system was adopted by Shahu for the strengthening of his party.

It is likely to be argued that the Swami had his imprints on both these systems when they had already developed. But the Swami does not appear to have entered Maratha politics during the tenure of Balaji Vishwanath, at all. There is no correspondence available of the Swami earlier than 1727 i.e. before he came to Dhavadshi. We have no clue, therefore, to trace the Swami's diplomacy, if any, prior to 1727. The post- 1727 correspondence

clearly shows that the Swami had no major part in either the Saranjami (feudal) system or in the expansion of Maratha state. It can only be said that the Swami had some part in the affairs of the Konkan only, and that too not a significant one.¹

4. His Personal Ambition.

Ambition, it is said, was the chief motive of the Swami. Parasnus is of the opinion that the Swami's chief motive was to propagate Hindu religion in general and the Parshuram worship in particular, and to build temples of Parshuram and celebrate his festivals. It does not appear that Bhargava worship was the chief motive of the Swami. He had built only three or four temples of Bhargavaram. If the Swami desired to propagage Hinduism, why did he beg for villages from the enemies of Hinduism viz. the Siddis and the Nizam? We have found that the Swami had not exerted as zealously as he should have done in annihilating the Siddi. In fact it appears he was quite friendly with the Siddi during and after the Janjira war.² His suggestion of starting a Bhargava tithe (patti) is not worth considering, because the Siddi was not destroyed by the Marathas

1. R.III Pr. pp 180 - 183.

2. DCHM 20/767, 768, 772.

and the Swami also left Konkan in 1728 for good. After his establishment at Dhavadshi we do not hear much about the Parshuram worship.¹ Athley thinks that it was partially true that the Swami was ambitious. He further adds that the Swami's ambition was not ignoble. Kanhoji Angre had stated in one of his letters to the Swami that he should go up the ghats to give a message of uplift to the sinners.² The object of the Swami's ambition according to Athley was to impress his contemporary nobility who was the lover of pomp and display, and to make them obedient. His orders were invaluable for the ennobling of the religion and the country. Ramdas also was ambitious. He too asked Shivaji why he did not make enquiries about him when he had stayed in his land. Rajwade observes that ambition no doubt was the chief motive of the Swami. To see the Nizam-ul-mulk, to make friends with the English, to make the Chhatrapati send for a palanquin were the honours, eagerly desired by the Swami. Alekar, in attempting to reply Rajwade accepts that the Swami was ambitious. But his ambition was a noble one --- to destroy the Yawanas. This has already been replied above. Though the Swami had once written that the Shamal (the Siddi) should be totally destroyed, we do not find he had acted vigorously for this object.³

1. PBC pp. 88-89. Athley - Kesari 11-1-1905.

2. R.III 180.

3. PBC. p.85. Alekar-Granthmala No.92 p.87;
Athley Kesari 31st Jan.1905, R.III Pr. p.193.
See Chap.III

Rajwade's explanation of the Swami's ambition appears to be true. The Swami always proclaimed that he himself was the incarnation of Parshuram. To be appreciated, to be honoured, to be respected was his only ambition. He was proud that his fame had reached as far as Agra and Delhi through his worthy devotees like Bajirao and Chimaji-appa. "The whole world worships me. Setes (merchants) and mahajans (money lenders) patronize me¹. They send me thousands of rupees. (Viroobai comes four times a year to see me".) "The Chhatrapati honoured me by worshipping me."

- To Sundar Vinzaji.^{1a}

"The Chhatrapati and Viroobhai paid a visit to me."

- To Chimaji Appa.²

"The King, Viroobai two Queens and the Sarkarkun came to see me. They stayed for a couple of days and left."

- To Manaji Angre.³

"Viroobai comes to me four times a year."

- To Kashibai Bhonsle.⁴

"Without asking Viroobai presented Rs. 2000 to me."

- To Chimaji Appa.⁵

"I met prince Fatesing. He worshipped me respectfully and honoured me by seating me in a palanquin."

- To Queen⁶

"Bajirao worshipped me during my sojourn in Poona."

- To Shivaji Shankar.⁷

1 DCHM 12/1048 3 PBCL 328 6 R. III 31

1a Ibid 20/662 4 Ibid 296 7 DCHM 20/995

2 PBCL 276 5 Ibid 145 8 R. III 31

These extracts illustrate the Swami's trick of the trade. He always wished to emphasise the minds of his devotees by spreading these sentences in his letters to them. He meant thereby, " You can now see. I am a great man. The King, the Queens, the prince and the Peshwa come and worship me. You must also have your share. Try to honour and pay me more than them." These extracts also illustrate the vanity of the Swami. The person to whom the Swami writes automatically returns the compliments, "You are a Mahapurush. It is but natural they worship you."¹ Athley's view that the object of the Swami's ambition was to impress his contemporary nobility who loved pomp and display to make them obedient also appears to be concurring with Rajwade's opinion.² In one of his letters the Swami writes, " I yearn for respect. At least in my presence , you should guard my respect."³

5. The Swami's favouritism.

The Swami had the Chhatrapati, the Peshwa and the Maratha sardars as his devotees. He made a full use of these Government officers in the Maratha state for the bettering of his favourites. The Manoj and Krishnambhat Desai of Asole were his best favourites. For collecting the interest and the dues of his debts, he brought pressure on the Chhatrapati and the Maratha nobility. Hari Bhora was a devotee of the Swami. He had taken some loan from the Swami.

1. R. III 51

2. PBCL 282, 296, 320, DCHM 12/1048

3. DCHM 12/1051.

Hari Bhora had to collect his money from the clients. The Swami requested the Chhatrapati to exert his influence for the collection of Hari Bhora's dues.¹ To order the Chhatrapati to do these petty things shows the narrowness of the Swami's mind. He brought pressure on the Angres to bestow the Mahajanki of Murud upon Bagul and the Deshmukhi of Asole upon Krishnambhat, his favourites.² He attempted to grant greater favour to Sayaji Kanoje than he actually deserved by asking Nana Saheb Peshwa to grant them.³ He desired to bestow on Shenvi the work of collecting dues from the Portuguese possessions near Goa taking away the same from Venkatrao Narayan a brother-in-law of Bajirao but the Peshwa would not comply with this request. Many a time it has been observed that the Swami asked the Peshwa to remove one person from his post and appoint another in his place.⁴

6. His recommendations.

It can be admitted that in respect of Mahadoba Parandare, Udaji and Jagjivan Pawar and Bakaji Naik Mahadik, the recommendations of the Swami were just. But such examples are few and far between.⁵ Recommendations for worthy persons were acceptable. But the Swami dabbled with the administration for the sake of his recommendations. Many times the Swami believed that his devotees would prosper by his recommendations alone. He wrote to Bajirao and Tulaji that he would recommend them to the King.⁶

1. DCHM 12/1035
2. R.III 292, PBCL 328, 389
3. PBCL 72
4. Ibid 286,338
5. Ibid 238,208, 272. R. III 505.

Rajwade remarks that the Swami made minor recommendations. Ramdas never felt a necessity for these petty things. While Alekar regards these recommendations of the Swami as worthy of note.¹

7. Selfishness and meddling in Administration.

It has been observed that the Swami made politics to serve his own selfish ends in the following ways :

- i) For collecting his dues and interests he exploited the services of the Maratha Sardars who were his disciples.

He asked Chimaji Appa to collect Rs. 125/- from Govind Ram Thakur.² Even for an interest on Rs. 30/- we find the Swami asking Chimaji to collect it³. Sadashiv Chimaji is asked to collect Rs. 50/- from Bapuji Meghashyam⁴. Shankaraji Keshava is ordered to collect the subscription in his district amounting to Rs. 5000.⁵ In addition to these hundreds of more examples of a similar type are scattered in the correspondence of the Swami. It is disgusting to find the Swami employing these notables for his petty works.

- ii) He prevailed upon the Maratha nobility to punish his private enemies.

Though the Swami regarded himself as a Paramhansa he is always seen to be a victim of wreath and jealousy which always resulted in quarrels. This saint had his

1. R. III Pr. p. 194, Alekar. Granthamala 92, p. 86.
2. PBCL 138
3. DCHM 20/961
4. Op.cit 81.
5. DCHM 20/633

too. enemies. He punished his enemies through his worthier devotees. The Swami quarrelled with Ambaji Patil of Dhavadshi, and asked Raja Shahu to punish him. Similarly one Shenvi insulted him for which he asked Chimaji Appa to chastise him. He prejudiced the mind of Fatesing against Bapuji Naik.¹

iii) He demanded villages from all, even from the private estates of the sardars & from the enemies also.

He asked for the village Dhalavli from Apaji and Tulaji Angre. Village Ghargaon belonging to the private estate of Queen Sakwarbai was demanded by him. But the queen refused to part with her vatan-village. From Janoji Nimbalkar the Swami demanded the village Ropla, which he also courteously declined to part for the Swami.² From the Nizam the Swami demanded the village Rajur; and from the Siddis Pedhe, Ambdas Naysi were the villages secured by the Swami.³

iv) He made quixotic suggestions to the Queens such as stopping the English from helping the Siddi.

During the Janjira war the Swami suggested to the

1. PBCL 254, 286, 300.

2. Ibid 204, 205, 94, 95.

3. Ibid 259, PBC p. 14.

^a
Queen Skwarbai an idea of stopping the English from helping the Siddi as he had friendship with the English.

- v) He demanded exemptions for the evasion of the law of the land.

The Swami thought that he being a religious preceptor of the Maratha society, the laws of the Maratha state or any other state should not bind him. He always desired that he should be given an exemption. He ordered Sambhaji Angre to stop the inspection of his garden lands at Gothana. In the cultivable land lying along the coast at Gothana the legal exemption permitted was for three years. The Swami got a special sanction for him for the period of twenty years. When he was permitted to take the bullocks from Penn carrying 15 khandis of salt, his servants made double trips on the same permit for which they had to answer the Angre's men. Peshwa's officers too recovered a fine of 30 rupees and a gold ring because the Swami's servant took more bullocks to Penn than those were permitted. Chimaji Appa mildly suggested to the Swami that he would have to pay for the extra bullocks.¹

1 R. III 257, 309, 286, PBCL 151, 150

vi) He interfered with justice.

There are many instances of the meddling of the Swami in matter of justice. In the dispute regarding the border between the villages Nimb and Anewadi Viroobai requested him not to interfere. In the instances of dispute between Keroji and Yesaji at Virmade of Krishnambhat and Kassar and the case of Hasa blacksmith are already referred to .

The Swami's evasions of law and interference in justice cannot be excused on religious ground. We cannot help calling these actions of the Swami an unnecessary meddling in politics, though such instances were common in the eighteenth century Maratha society.

vii) He prejudiced the minds of the sardars and ministers against ^{one an} each other and embittered the harmony between them.

The Swami's method of playing one nobleman against the other was most harmful. To Bajirao he wrote, "There are some vicious characters at Satara who are being listened to by the Raja." To Chimaji he wrote, " At Umabai's place

all the sinners (i.e. the sardars who were opposing the Peshwa) have gathered together. " Sitting at Satara Khanderao Dabhade undid the plans^s of Chimaji and Bajirao, which the Swami informed Chimaji and Bajirao. To Bajirao he wrote in unequivocal terms that the ministers at Satara bore an ill will towards, ^{him} In the Janjira war when the Peshwa isolated the Pratinidhi by creating prejudice in the minds of Angres and Bakaji Mahadik against the Pratinidhi, the Swami connived at him, thus indirectly supporting his attitude. His remarks about Babuji Naik and Pilaji Jadhav have already been referred to. Thus we find the Swami sowing seeds of dissention amongst the Maratha nobility Such actions of the swami are unworthy of him who had established himself as a saint.¹

The following letter written by Mahadaji Salunkhe alias Dubal will throw light on the types of the Machinations at Satara in which the Swami was involved.

1 PBCL 298, 287, 300, 326,
DCHM 20/1034, 451.

From Mahadaji Salunkhe to Srimant Tirtharoop Paramhansabava, " Your graceful letter has been received. I would like to request you to send a letter in the name of scubhagyadisampamma Matusri Bai (i.e. the queen) and state in that letter that ' I have bestowed Mouje Rople tarf Naveli Parande, on you. It has no connection with the villages I already have in possession.' We shall, then send you a paper from the queen for Rs. 1000/- for the sake of the palanquin. You should not, however, make any mention about the rupees in your paper."¹ The above letter speaks for itself.

CHAPTER VII : ESTIMATE OF THE SWAMI.

- i) The Swami about himself.
- ii) Contemporary Opinion.
- iii) Modern Criticism.

CHAPTER VII.i) The Swami about himself.

" I yearn for honour. At least in my presence you must guard my honour."¹

"If you will obey me, my reputation also will spread."²

The Swami wanted everybody to respect him, and obey him. If he was not obeyed he was inclined to sweat at that person ~~you~~ immediately. The Swami had no refined manners. He yearned for and enjoyed honour and reputation and paraded it to others.

"I don't like your double attitude towards me."

To Sadoba.³

"If you will be worshipping me, then rest assured you will soon secure Mahad."

To Udaji Pawar.⁴

(in front)
These two remarks show that the Swami wanted to emphasise on the minds of his devotees that it was due to his blessings that they secured their victories. He wanted people to fix their attention on himself only.

" I could carry on these works because merchants and money lenders contribute freely their mite."⁵

1. DCHM 12/1051

2. Ibid 20/949

3. PBCL 294.

4. Ibid ³ 405

5. DCHM 12/1048

" I require five thousand rupees per month for expenditure. I have got ten devotees who bear the burden of this expenditure."¹

The Swami's maintenance and his building works were carried on by the money he secured from his wealthier devotees. His usury was also a source of income to him. Money and articles of daily need, as well as materials required for building works were constantly demanded by the Swami from his devotees. These demands were unwelcome and were anything but liked by them.

" I am not a robber. I am neither a great pandit nor a Brahmin astrologer. I am the dust at the feet of the people like you."²

I am a mad ascetic. Bhargava has taken human form in your family.³ (To Chimaji).

These were the Swami's catch-words and glib phrases for enticing his devotees to worship and respect him. His actual behaviour was not so humble and modest to his devotees. Whenever the Swami desired certain things to be done, he used such language. Credulous persons are easily led away by such phrases.

1. PBCL 308

2. DCHM 28/860

3. PBCL 281.

It was for Sita's sake that Ravana met his ruin. See now what will happen for the sake of Kanoja.¹ Such threats were used by the Swami in imposing on others his will in any matter. This remark illustrates the favouritism of the Swami. The Swami wanted to lift his favourites Kanojes upto higher posts. The Peshwa and the Angres were not supporting the Swami's wishes. The Swami, therefore, got angry & uttered the above threat. Such threats of the Swami are to be strongly deprecated. Krishnambhat had written to the Swami, "You are absorbed night and day in my well-being. I am, therefore, bound to prosper."²

ii) Contemporary opinion about the Swami.

It is argued that the Swami was acclaimed a saint by everybody during his life time and was revered as such even after his death. (Parasnisi.). It is worth while examining therefore, the remarks of some contemporary people.

"We hope that we will not be separated from the feet of the Swami. We have no other deity to worship than the Swami."

3

—: Kesharbai and Tulsi Gujar, Harnai.

In the case of the common people, saints have simply to win their faith/at first sight. Once it is won, the devotee does anything for the saint. The Swami had asked 'nigdel' oil from Kesharibai. She is writing to the Swami in

-
1. DCHM 12/337 A.
 2. Ibid 20/713
 3. DCHM 20/714

the usual devotional manner.

^{the}
"The Swami is great and / guardian of orphans."

1
—! Bawaji Mhaske, Commandant, Jaygad fort.

"The Swami has been giving us bread and clothes for the last fifteen years. You always give munificently. Your giving is continuous, sufficient and perfect."²

The Swami was once not well. His servant, Lakhmaji Salvi, when he heard of it, wrote this to Chimmajipant, Bapujipant and Dhondopant.

"It is learnt that the Swami is not well. When he is all hale and hearty, we/are happy. Who is going to care for us after him?"³

These remarks show the faith and loyalty of the Swami's dependants to him.

Sardars.

i) Angre.

"It is true everything happens according to the associations of previous birth. The common people will feel weal or woe for these things. But the Swami is a 'paramhamsa' beyond pleasure and pain. Why should he then worry every

1. DCHM 20/642 A.

2. Raghoballal. PBCL 361.

3. DCHM 12/409 (Lakhmoji Salvi).

moment over trifles? Every now and then you are writing
 that because of the elephant such/thing is lost. Why should
 you write like this? The 'sriti smriti' have ordained that
 man should never have these temptations. It is not proper for
 the Swami to brood over the matter that has already happened
 for better or for worse. Everything happens according to the
 will of God."¹

This extract from Kanhoji's letter alone is sufficient to refute the statement of Parasnus that all contemporary people worshipped him with reverence. The remark of Kanhoji can be applied to the behaviour of the Swami during the last thirty years of his life. Parasnus thinks that Kanhoji is joking here. The Swami is seldom found cutting a joke. He is always serious. As a matter of fact he is not joking here. He is writing quite seriously. Even if it is taken that Kanhoji was joking in this case it still hides a sharp criticism of the Swami's character. Parasnus also thinks that Kanhoji might have passed this remark through resentment or being harassed. The Swami himself did not like this frank criticism of Kanhoji. Both Kanhoji and the Swami were quite friendly when they were at Suvarnadurga. Kanhoji, therefore, was in a position to write frankly to the Swami. Even after Kanhoji's death, the Swami nourished a hatred for him. He once wrote to Bajirao and Chimaji, "Kanhoji did not pay back the money I earned by the sweat of my brow, and gave me lot of trouble."²

1. R.III 179. (Kanhoji)

2. PBC pp.32-33, R.III 179, PBCL 276.

"The Swami has made mention of the things required by him. I have already written to you that the thing which would be required by you would be duly sent to you. In spite of my writing to you two or three times, you are writing and reminding me. If the Swami does not make a mention of these things in every letter it will be good."

- Sambhaji Angre.-¹

"If the Swami would not write about the rafters it would be good."

- Sambhaji Shinde, Commandant
Rasalgad fort.-²

"I have not been able to see the Peshwa as yet. Once everything is settled, all the dues will be paid off. You need not send the clerk so often to remind us."

- Yeshwantrao Powar - ³

These extracts show how the Swami became a nuisance to his contemporaries on account of his incessant monetary and other demands of things in and out of season.

"The Swami is the very incarnation of Bhargavram." Even the bird of the jungle, if blessed by you, would obey your commands. After the death of our father, the feet of the Swami have been to us,^{as} our parents, guru, God & religion...

1. R.III 280.

2. DCHM 20/542.

3. Ibid 20/572.

I desire to possess the ancestral seat of Kolaba. If you will not think seriously of this and if you will laugh away my idea imagine then what my father might not say to you in heaven."

- Sambhaji Angre - ¹

there are no

"The state where /'tapasvins' like the Swami do ~~not leave~~
~~in case~~ cannot be said to be truly progressive or expanding.
 The whole world is favourable to the Swami. Wherever he goes,
 he will be received with high honour or devotion by all....
 Your friendship with my late lamented lord (Kanhoji) was unique,
 natural and intimate. He is gone. It is now your duty to
 make good what is deficient in their (Kanhoji's children's)
 lives , and to wish them well. If you think ill of them my
 lord in heaven would be laughing at you."

- Laxmibai Angre - ²

Letters of Sambhaji, Sekhoji, Laxmibai and Mathurabai Angre show how deeply they revered the Swami. But the Swami kept on harassing them for the loans they had taken from him and threatened them to throw Kanhoji into hell, cursing them that their family would become extinct. Mathurabai Angre once warned him not to keep on repeating the curse of the extinction of their family.

1. R.III 272.

2. Ibid 340.

"We remember our promises, but you never".

- Shripatrapo Pratinidhi - ¹

"You paid us Rs.300 last year. Though it was agreed that no mention should be made of it the Gosavi (i.e. the Swami) mentioned it to the Chhatrapati and misrepresenting the matter, reminded him of the money."

- Naro Shankar Sachiva -

to Bapuji Ganesh Tambe.²

the

The remarks of Pratinidhi and the Pant Sachiva throw a good deal of light on the Swami's character. The Swami was a partisan of the Peshwa. He was always in the habit of cursing and abusing other ministers who in turn exposed him.

"We are after all the Swami's devoted servants. Our bad name which has spread all over the world has as a matter of fact tarnished your name. These things are not happening according to the lustre of your penance. Those who come to your feet do not get your blessings, on the contrary they are condemned to degradation. This is surprising."³

- Bawaji Shivdeo -

The Swami personally disgraced the servant of Bawaji Shivdeo for a trifling offence in his absence. Bawaji Shivdeo

1. DCHM 20/246

2. Ibid 20/358

3. Ibid 20/657. For details see Chap. V.

stated the truth in his letter to the Swami. Bawaji Shivdeo's criticism is the true estimate of the Swami, through the eyes of ^acontemporary.

"The Swami is the incarnation of Bhrugu".

- Chimaji - ¹

"The Swami has hurled his sudashana on Bassein and has annihilated the enemies of the religion."

- Chimaji - ²

"The Swami launched the Sudarshana on the Shamala (the Siddi) and as a result the Shamala immediately was crushed."

- Chimaji - ³

These remarks of Chimaji illustrate his faith in the Swami. Though he was a good soldier and won victories at the point of the sword, he believed that they were all due to the Swami's miracles and blessings.

"The sum of Rs.6000 out of the money borrowed from the Swami is outstanding. The Swami will be angry with us if we will not pay the rupees after the closing of his 'samadhi' (samadhi visarjan). Please, therefore, request him not to insist upon the payment at present as we are hard up."

- Sadashiv Chimmaji to Jagannath Chimmaji-

1. PBCL 45

2. Ibid 54

3. Ibid 129.

" Only ten days have remained for the Samadhi. I desire to feast my eyes with what unique things you have brought for me from that province and then I shall sit for my samadhi."

- To Bajirao and Chimaji Appa -¹

The Swami's mind was night and day preoccupied with the return of the loans advanced by him and the interest there-upon. Before and after the Samadhi, he thinks of nothing else but his money, and material pleasure. Even Sadashivrao Bhau understood this. He is, therefore, requesting Jagannath-pant to pacify the Swami before his going into 'samadhi', otherwise if he does not see the money after the Samadhi, the Swami would immediately get angry.² Rajwade perhaps is right in saying that the Swami's soul was coated with desires.

"Even if Indra (the king of Gods) will descend from the heaven and contemplate insult of the Swami, he will be paled before the lustre of the victorious merit of the Swami."

- Chimaji -³

The remark of Chimaji shows how blindly Chimaji believed in the spiritual powers of the Swami. The Puranas tell us that Indra always feared the penance of the 'rishis' (sages) because by their penance he feared he would lose his position. He, therefore, always disturbed⁴ their penance. Chimaji thought

1 PBCL 276

2 OCHM 26/965

3 PBCL 147

that the Swami was as powerful spiritually as the ancient sages like Shuka and Vishwamitra.

"You should not collect wood from the private compound of Keroji. Show to Pratinidhi's men some other wood. Don't disturb Keroji."

- Viroobai - ¹

"You have written about the border dispute between Anewadi and Nimb You should not worry about this thing. The villagers of both the villages will mind their own business. You go to your own place."

- Viroobai - ²

"You are an angel. It is most unfair on your part to resort to such dark deeds."

- Viroobai - ³

"Hereafter those who will quarrel with and trouble Keroji and his father-in-law will be seriously dealt with."

: - Viroobai - ⁴

These remarks of the Queens illustrate the meddling and troublesome activities of the Swami and their strong disapproval of these activities which were not worthy of a saint.

1. DCHM 20/196

2. Ibid 20/202

3. Ibid 20/1070

4. Ibid 20/99

"Please write letters of good wishes and courtesy or on strict business. It is not proper to write threats to us. Please write such letters where they can be tolerated. We will not put up with it."

- Siddi Sad - ¹

Siddi Yakut was friendly with the Swami. He wrote to him " You should come back and stay at Parshuram. Many other people also will be happy by your coming and staying here." The Swami thought that he could be intimate with other Siddis also. But his arrogance was not tolerated by Siddi Sad who warned him in unequivocal terms. Siddi Sad himself always meant business."²

"The Swami builds temples, wells, tanks, etc. and cultivates trees plants and creepers creating eternal fame."

- Shahu - ³

"These revered persons purify the holy places. Wherever they would stay, would be a holy place."

- Shahu - ⁴

" What the Swami was doing don't do. What the Swami carried on don't discontinue.

-Shahu to Jagannath Chimanaji-⁵

1. DCHM 20/762 A.

2. PBCL 243.

3. Ibid 1

4. SKBC p.31

5. Ibid p.34

The first is the remark of Chhatrapati Shahu quoted from a letter of his. Without these two things there was nothing worth mentioning in the Swami's life. The last two remarks have been traced in the Bakhar of the Swami. Shahu's warning to Jagannath Chimmaji meant two things. (1) The Swami was harassing and abusing the people and exacting money from his devotees. Jagannath should not do it as it was not good. (2) The Swami protected and looked after his slaves and dependents. This should be continued. This shows that the Swami's views were disapproved even by his contemporaries.

iii) Modern Criticism on the Swami.

1) The Controversy

The controversy on the Swami's life lasted mainly from 1899 to 1905. The main contestants were Messrs V. K. Rajwade, D.B.Parasnus, N.R.Alekar, a pleader from Nagpur; B.N.Deo a critical writer in the Vividhajnavistara magazine and S.V.Athley of Shiposhi, a researcher in Maratha history. At the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decade of the twentieth century Mr. Vijapurkar was the editor of Granthmala and Vividhjnanavistara, two Marathi magazines well known for their learned articles. Parasnus published his biography of the Swami in 1899. Rajwade's criticism appeared in a form of a preface to his III volume in 1901 in the Granthmala. The reply of Parasnus to Rajwade appeared in the same volume. Alekar also criticised Rajwade in the 92nd volume of the Granthmala in the same year. Again Alekar and Deo contested in the Vividhjnanavistara in 1902. Lastly in 1904 - 1905 Athley wrote a series of nine articles on the Janjira War and the estimation of the Swami in the Kesari. In following the epitome of the controversy under different heads below, it may please be noted that my comments on each criticism will be found between two brackets.

2) Duff.

It was Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, who first of all wrote about the Swami. Duff wrote, "The Swami was a much venerated person in the country and was the Mahapurush of Bajirao and his brother and seems to have possessed their entire confidence. The Peshwa's letters to his brother detail the actions of His life, in familiar manner without disguise and are quite invaluable."¹

(Duff's remark is based on the reading of a few letters of Bajirao and Chimaji Appa to the Swami. The Swami was no doubt a 'venerated person' and the 'Mahapurush' of Bajirao and his brother. It is, however, much doubted whether he commanded their entire confidence. Bajirao and Chimaji Appa wrote as familiarly to Narayan Dixit as they wrote to the Swami).

3) Discrepancy between the Life and Correspondence published by Parasnisi.

In reviewing the biography of the Swami by Parasnisi Deo vividly brought out the discrepancies between the biography and the correspondence appended to it. Deo feels with Rajwade that the pictures as presented by both were diametrically opposed. The biography exalted the Swami to the status of Ramdas and credited him with ^{the} work of national uplift. He was also credited with having few physical needs

1. DUFF XV p. 232 footnote.

treating gold and dust alike. The picture as revealed in the correspondence shows the Swami as selfish, intensely practical, and revealing human frailties of all kinds. He appears from his correspondence to be promoting mutual jealousies between a brother and a brother, sowing the seeds of baser human passions such as enmity, avarice and personal squabbles for the sake of selfish motives. The biographer appeared to Mr. Deo at many places confused. Montague, the biographer of Bacon, took for granted that the mind that could produce eternal jewels of thought must be pure. Superb brilliance of intellect, incomparable imagination, power of thinking and eternal morality go hand in hand. Macaulay commented on this that these presumptions result in perversion of reality, strange mode of thinking, unusual coincidences and inferences provoking laughter. Deo admits that * Montague might have been impressed by the philosophy of Bacon. He however doubts what virtues of the Swami enamoured the biographer Parasnath to take the perverted view. "We find" writes Deo, "neither illuminating thoughts, nor universally respected religious, moral or political principles; nor appealing exalted and high motives in any action of ^{the} Swami. The great epics of Mahabharat, Ramayan and Bhagwat are seldom referred to in the Swami's correspondence. Citations from these great epics are very scarce. Meanness of mind is found displayed everywhere. Rustic modes of expression are also not rare. The letters might be occasionally important as historical documents but they do not go to strengthen

either purity of thought or human uplift. The Swami's exalted position has endowed these letters with importance. They do not add to his glory. The biographer appears to Mr. Deo to be imbued with the idea that the world honours only true saints and that wealth, prosperity and power are always the result of virtues. The biographer's misconceptions were not blown away by Rajwade's scathing criticism supported by strong evidence.¹

(Deo's arguments were based on the published correspondence of the Swami alone. After the perusal of the unpublished correspondence it can confidently be said that Deo's remarks are more than justified. We do feel ever and anon the predominance of 'rajasa' and 'tamasa' sentiments of the Swami in his correspondence submerging the 'satvik' sentiment that we normally associate with a saint.)

4) His Relations with the Siddis and the Angres.

a. The Siddis.

According to Parasnisi Siddi Yakut was a sincere devotee of the Swami. Siddi Sad and Siddi Sambul were sworn enemies of Hinduism, still they carried on correspondence with the

1. Vividhjnanavistara 33/2 pp.34-35.

Swami. After his arrival on the Desha the Siddis still continued to recall him.¹ This proves the high social and religious esteem in which the Swami was held in the Konkan. Though there were political differences, friendly letters and presents were exchanged by the Swami and the Siiddi for a long time. The Swami regularly went for the Samadhi to Parshuram till 1732 and occasionally after that. Though ^{the} Maratha state had clashes with the Siddis the Swami's personal ties with the ruling family of the Siddis, were never broken. Even in 1743, the Siddis confirmed grants of the villages Pedhe and Ambdas.²

Rajwade thinks that the Swami started the reconstruction of the Parshuram temple in 1705. Parasnus thinks the date to be 1708. Taking the mean Alekar fixes the date between 1705 and 1708.³ Alekar states that Siddi Yakut, though ^{the} had a desire for the expansion of his state, showed respect for the Swami, which must be noted. Why the Siddi Badekhan was highly impressed with reverence for the Swami is a moot point.

(It is very likely that the Siddi's reverence for the Swami had some reasons, commercial or diplomatic. Due ^{the} to/Swami's residence at Parshuram the township of Chiplun and the villages Pedhe, Parshuram and Dhamani flourished.

1. PBCL 44, 12, 1, 240.

2. PBC p. 107

3. DCHM 20/829

The annual festival at Parshuram established by the Swami substantially added to the Siddi's coffers. The Swami's stay at Parshuram was a desirable event from the Siddi's point of view as he could gain information through that channel about the discussions at the Maratha court. The Swami had no hatred towards the Siddi as a fanatic Muslim. The Swami urged Bajirao to invade the Siddi only when his inam villages were directly troubled by the Siddi. The true date of the starting of the reconstruction of the Parshuram temple ~~is~~ is 1708 vide the original list).¹

b) The Angres.

The Swami's dealings with the Angres has been a much debated point. Parasnus tells us that as the Swami was closely associated with the Angre family, he had his hand in almost all the political activities of the Angre house. At the annual Samadhi visarjan ceremony of the Swami the Angres used to send two hundred soldiers. The Swami had advanced huge sums as loans to the Angres, the interest of which had not been recovered. Kanhoji joked with the Swami¹ and laughed at his reminders of interest. The Swami's failure to patch up the quarrels between the Angre brothers Sambhaji & Manaji led to a change of opinion about Sambhaji in later years.³

¹ DCHM 29829

2. PBC pp.17,32.

3. Ibid p.97

Rajwade is of the opinion that the Swami also was responsible ^{together} with the Sardars and the Chhatrapati in not keeping a check upon the conduct of the Angres which ultimately ruined all.¹ The Swami did not care to take the permission of Kanhoji while bringing the elephant from Savnur. The Swami did not trust Kanhoji who was a scheming and jocular person. One of the reasons for the Swami's leaving of Konkan for good was to avoid the company of rogues like the Siddi and cunning persons like Kanhoji. On reaching Dhavadshi the Swami reminded Kanhoji that he was his debtor. But Kanhoji took it lightly and taunted the Swami that his demands were ever increasing!² The Swami made attempts to poison the Angre brothers' minds against each other. The idea of a new seal of his own was injected in Sambhaji's mind by the Swami through his agents Dattaji Kanoje and Bakaji Naik Mahadik. The Swami ordered Sambhaji to re-appoint Kanoje, which he declined. He further prejudiced Shahu and Bajirao against Sekhoji. The Swami sent an urgent reminder of his loan to Sekhoji. Sekhoji and his mother feared Swami's curses as well as his backbiting at Shahu's court. Sambhaji and the Swami were alienated from each other because of many differences between them. At first the Swami encouraged Sambhaji to invade Manaji's territory. But when he was baffled ~~for which~~ the Swami sarcastically honoured him with

1. R.III Pr. p. 154.

2. Ibid pp. 158-159.

the epithet of the king of Konkan! The Swami played this mischief in order to take revenge upon the Angre brothers who were not repaying his so called loans. Tulaji was obliged by being released from prison because the Swami wanted to keep him as a trump card in his hand in his tussle with Sambhaji. The Swami was thus responsible for the division among the Angre brothers. Supposing Sambhaji and Tulaji were bad men, Peshwa, Bajirao and Chhatrapati Shahu were in a position to keep these brothers in check, but the Swami desired to destroy them because of his private enmity. This shows the Swami's inability to unite various Maratha nobles and make them work for the good of the Maratha state. The Swami's example of fomenting quarrels, poisoning other men's ears, and of ~~breach of trust~~^{trust} was repeated by succeeding generations in Maharashtra thereafter.¹ In short from personal and national point of view the Swami's behaviour with the Angres deserved reproach from the start to the finish.

Parasnisi presumed that Rajwade charged him for giving the account of the Angres in an imaginary form.² Alekar showed the defect in the genealogy of the Angres given by Rajwade. Rajwade's genealogy was better and more reliable than that of Forest, but was not faultless. With the help of one genealogy supplied by Mr. Pandit, probably from Imperial

1. R.III Pr.pp. 180-184.

2. Parasnisi - Granthmala Vol.88, 18.4. p.5

Gazetteer, Alekar showed that Yesaji should be the eldest of the bastards of Kanhoji. Sambhaji's death in 1742 was overlooked by Rajwade.¹ Rajwade, according to Alekar, attempted to prove in his earlier volume that the Peshwa usurped the Chhatrapati's power. Now with the help of the Swami's correspondence Rajwade attempted to throw the responsibility of the destruction of the Chhatrapati upon Angres thus absolving the Peshwa from that responsibility. Alekar further states that the Swami's acceptance of bringing the elephant of the Siddi was no doubt a political blunder. But it was excusable as even great statesmen commit blunders. Kanhoji released the elephant because he had devotion for the Swami and he feared the Yogic powers of the Swami. Alekar then attempts to refute two of Rajwade's charges against the Swami viz. i) that the Swami and Kanhoji were not friendly and ii) that the Swami left Konkan for good never thinking of returning again. "Had Kanhoji been unfriendly towards the Swami", says Alekar "he would not have allowed him to flourish in the Konkan. Kanhoji did not like the Swami's going to the Desha.. Rajwade simply wants to scoff at the great man." The Swami's charges against Kanhoji were only in respect of sums unpaid by him.² The Swami was making efforts to bring amity between Sekhoji and Sambhaji. As for the separate seals made by Sambhaji Rajwade has overlooked Mathurabai's remark that

1. Alekar Granthmala Vol. 92, 818, pp 2-5

2. Ibid p.19

consent was given for a separate seal to Sambhaji because he insisted on it.¹ Rajwade's remark that Bajirao advised Sekhoji not to render help to the Pratinidhi is historically untrue. The Peshwa would never have indulged in such an anti-national activity. If this is true then the Swami will be free from the charge. Rajwade's whole narration about the Angres has totally gone wrong. The Swami did make efforts to unite the Angres. Still the Angres were ruined because Maratha nobility was then not imbued with the sentiment of patriotism. Their mutual rivalry and the policy of their European enemies of fomenting division amongst them made the Swami's efforts futile. Some of the Angres moreover were wicked.² According to Deo the Swami's behaviour towards the Angres was selfish, ambitious and not worthy of a man who has the national interests at heart.³ Deo further adds, " Why did the Swami always fear that Kanhoji will not pay his dues? Why had he to be harsh to Kanhoji in getting back his money? Either the Guru could not judge his devotee properly or the devotee was more than a match for the Guru."⁴

Athley criticises Rajwade for his charge upon the Swami of dividing the Angres and ruining them. He regards the charge as totally untrue. The Swami on the other hand

1. R.III 294

2. Alekar Granthmala Vol.92,8/8 p.92

3. Vividhajnanavistara Vol.33/2 p.43

4. Ibid p.188

made incessant efforts for uniting them for the benefit of the nation. Sekhoji and Sambhaji were soon united because of the Swami's advice. The Swami did not like the division of the Angre principality made by the Peshwa. He desired to give Kolaba back to Sambhaji and started for Kolaba but was detained by Shahu and the Peshwa.¹ The Swami however kept on advising Manaji. Unfortunately their natures differed and Manaji would not part with Kolaba. The English took advantage of this division and invaded Vijaydurga. The Swami therefore made an 'aradhana' to the shrine of Bhuleshwar to ward off this invasion.² After Sambhaji Tulaji and Manaji came to blows. The Swami overlooked several unjust acts of Tulaji and advised him to release Manaji's family³ which he had imprisoned. Again he wrote to Tulaji "None can interfere if you and Manaji would come together."⁴ The Swami had implicit love for the Angre family. Glorifying Sambhaji as the King of Konkan the Swami suggested to Sambhaji that he (Sambhaji) should worship him (the Swami) as a Mahapurush like Shivaji's Baba Yakut.⁵ He made efforts to patch up the breach between Sambhaji and Chimaji.⁶ Advising Laxmibai and Mathurabai he ordered Manaji to give respect to Mathurabai. The Swami

1. PBCL 314

2. Ibid 311

3. Ibid 325

4. R.III 347

5. Ibid 273

6. Ibid 282.

sincerely wished for the well being of the Angre family.

Sometimes when he found them inattentive he expressed his disapproval at their conduct.¹

(There is no evidence to show that the Swami was associated with all the activities of the Angres as Parasnus has stated. His explanation moreover for the Swami's failure in bringing about amity between the Angre brothers is not convincing. The fact is the Swami's efforts were firstly paltry and his selfishness dominated over all his other motives. Alekar's explanation that the Swami's failure was due to the absence of patriotism in the nobility can be applied to the Swami also because he was also one of the worthies. Granted that some of the Angres were wicked as Alekar says, it was the Swami's supreme duty to bring them to their senses and unite them against the enemies of the Marathas.

Rajwade's analysis of the Swami's character and role made sixty years ago still does not require any major change as a result of further research. The Peshwa Daftari volumes were not available to Rajwade. Some of his dates require corrections. He has assumed that the Janjira war started in 1726. Actually it started in 1733.

1. PBCL 328.

Much of Rajwade's discussion regarding the internecine war between the Angre brothers after Sambhaji's death has totally gone on wrong track because of his misapprehensions vis-a-vis Manaji and Appaji. Yesaji and Appaji are identical.

We do not concur with Rajwade that the Swami ALONE could have exercised a check upon the Angres. But he failed. His indifference in not taking Kanhoji's permission for bringing the elephant cannot be justified. The Swami does not seem to bear any true love towards Kanhoji. Why then does the Swami harp upon the trouble he received at the hands of Kanhoji in his letters to his (Kanhoji's) sons?¹

It does not appear however from the unpublished correspondence that Dattaji and Bakaji Naik were the Swami's agents as Rajwade presumes. Dattaji was his favourite and Bakaji also was a devotee.

Alekar thinks that Rajwade wished to absolve the Peshwa from the responsibility of weakening the Chhatrapati's power and transfer it to the Angres. We find Rajwade criticising the Peshwa also. Alekar further thought that Bajirao never would have told Sekhoji to abstain from helping

the Pratinidhi. Actually we find a letter in the Peshwa Daftar where implicit instructions were issued by Bajirao to the Angre not to help the Pratinidhi.¹

Athley's statement that Sekhoji and Sambhaji were conciliated towards each other due to the Swami's efforts has no proof. From the correspondence it appears to be due to the goodness of Sekhoji Angre himself. The influence of the superstition was supreme on the contemporary society and upon the Angres. The cause of the Angre brothers' respect for the Swami inspite of his curses and bitter tongue could be found in this all pervading fact of those times).

5. The Swami and the Chhatrapati.

Parasnisi states that Shahu and his Queens had a special affection for the Swami. When the Sardars found that the Swami was capable of getting done anything from the Chhatrapati they approached the Chhatrapati through the Swami. To remove the displeasure of the Chhatrapati by diplomatic means or take counsel in political matters or to recommend some one to the Chhatrapati the Swami became an excellent medium for the Sardars. The Swami helped the Chhatrapati by means of the wealth he had collected.²

1. SPD 33/62.

2. PBC pp.37,40.

Rajwade thinks that the Swami behaved with respect towards the Chhatrapati and his Queens. Shahu revered him thinking that he was the incarnation of Bhargavram being aware of Bhargavram's relations with the Pauranic Kshetriyas. The Queens meddled in politics and the Swami attempted to join them. For example his suggestion to the Queens for mediating was of this nature.¹ Quoting Shahu's letter to Tulaji Parasnisi emphasises that Shahu respected the Swami as a great Tapasvin, and not an ordinary man.² Alekar refers to the Swami's letter to Chimaji and states that the Swami could take even the Chhatrapati to task for his follies. The Swami was certainly a far greater man than ^{was} supposed by others.³ According to Alekar Shahu conspired against Bajirao in allying himself with Sambhaji Angre. The Swami received complaints of injustice from Shahu down to the common man as if he was a supreme judge.⁴ Alekar further states that Shahu and Bajirao had to carry on the work of Shivaji in the 17th century.⁵ From Athley's point of view the reason for expediting of Shahu's campaign against the Siddis was to enable the Swami to perform his yearly Samadhi rites at Parshuram. Shahu according to Athley respected the Swami even after the latter's death.⁶ That the Swami was a great

1. R.III Pr.p.190

2. PBC p.129

3. ^{Alekar} Granthmala Vol.92 p.40

4. Ibid p.52

5. Ibid p.73

6. Athley Kesari 26-7-1904.

saint was the opinion formed by Shahu after an experience of 40 years.¹

(Shahu's reverence for the Swami is indisputable. We come across several warnings given by the Queens to the Swami for not meddling, in the unpublished correspondence. It has also been revealed that his meddling was for selfish motives. Shahu respected the Swami as he respected many other Sadhus & Gosavis. Shahu was religious-minded and pious. Nowhere we find the Swami mentioned as Rajguru. One Kacheswar bava was mentioned as the Rajguru of Shahu. ² We find the mention of the Chhatrapati in may of the Swami's letters. On the contrary few of Shahu's letters make mention of the Swami. Alekar's statement that 'Shahu and Bajirao had to carry on the work of Shivaji in the 17th century is not wholly true. Their works were not the same. They differed in many respects. Except the loan of 1 lac of rupees advanced by the Swami to Queen Sagunabai (probably for her personal use) we do not come across any monetary help given by the Swami to the Chhatrapati. It might be argued that Shahu did not like the predominance of the Peshwa, in his court.³ But we have no evidence to say that Shahu had formed a conspiracy against Bajirao allying with Sambhaji Angre, as maintained by Rajwade and Alekar. We have moreover no occasion to quote when Shahu had taken his complaint to the Swami, as Alekar states.

1. Athley Kesari 13-1-1905

2. SMR CSPBV p.42.

3. SPD 11/23

Shahu's motive in punishing the Siddi was not to enable the Samadhi at Parshuram, but to chastise the Siddi for helping his Swami to take his/cousin, and for the redress of his subjects in the Konkan)

6. His relations with the Peshwas.

Parashnis is of the opinion that the Swami might have helped Balaji in obtaining the Peshwaship.¹ The Swami gave monetary help to Balaji and also gave him counsel on political matters. He was an important person in the contemporary politics. Bajirao and Chimaji became the Swami's devotees due to their father's contact with the Swami. The Swami helped Bajirao also for winning his Peshwaship.² Bajirao was implicitly under the guidance of the Swami. He achieved success in his various political affairs due to the Swami's blessings. The Swami had granted lacs of Rupees to the Peshwa as loan. Most of Peshwa's campaigns were financed by the Swami.³ The success of the Bassein campaign was due to the special part played by the Swami and the guidance and encouragement given by the Swami.⁴ He regarded himself as the sentinel of the Peshwa and made recommendations to the Chhatrapati accordingly.⁵ On the death of Bajirao

1. PBC p.10

2. Ibid p.15

3. Ibid p.40

4. Ibid p.62

5. Ibid p.63

the main link of the Swami with current politics was broken. It is possible that the Swami's blessings were helpful to Nanasaheb also.¹ Nanasaheb however was not as intimate as his parents were to the Swami. This was even felt by the Swami. Nanasaheb seems to have helped Tarabai in the installation of Advaitendra, an imposter,² after the Swami's death.² Rajwade is of the opinion that the Swami prejudiced the minds of the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati against the Angre.³ According to him the Swami was not guiding the affairs of Bassein. The Swami's behaviour with the Peshwa was friendly. Bajirao's enemies were his enemies and Bajirao's friends were his friends also. The Swami was helpful to Bajirao in guarding cordial relations with the Chhatrapati. The Swami was totally subservient to Bajirao in all matters except money. He was ready to shower curses, reproaches, praises and blessings for the sake of Bajirao.⁴ The object of the Swami in courting the favour of Bajirao were to secure honour villages and wealth and to live comfortably.⁵ Bajirao became humble before the Swami when the Swami sent him reminders of money. The Swami desired that Bajirao

1. PBC p.421

2. Ibid p.132

3. R.III Pr.P.159.

4. Ibid p.187

5. Ibid p.188

should lay prostrate before him. With the blessings of the Swami behind, the practical part of every campaign was carried out by the Peshwa. His blessings however for the Bassein campaign took 3 years to fulfil.¹

According to Alekar Balaji Vishwnath was not obliged to the Swami because the Swami then did not wield any power over the Chhatrapati.² Balaji became the Swami's devotee impressed by his miracles. It is possible that Bajirao was under the obligations of the Swami and not vice versa.³ Alekar also states that a discord between Bajirao and Shahu would have been highly detrimental to Maharashtra. The Swami's part in the Bassein campaign was not as direct as in the Janjira war.⁴

Deo states that Nana Saheb did not pay reverence to the Swami which shows that his influence was on the wane even in his life-time. Alekar holds that the comments of the heretics do not in any way lessen the value of the part played in society by saints. Historians do not hold Ramdas responsible for the actions of Sambhaji. To this Deo replies that Nana Saheb was not incompetent like Sambhaji and did not make a mess of his inherited property. He has been praised by even foreign historians and no one blames him for Panipat. Moreover, there is no indication that he was a non-believer.

Alekar further argues that Nana Saheb was not loyal to the

1. R. III Pr. p. 190

2. Alekar Granthmala Vol. 92 p. 11

3. Ibid p. 12; Alekar, Vividhjnganvistar 33/2 p. 368

4. Ibid p. 27

to the Chhatrapati and had once planned to overthrow Shahu. It was but natural for him to be jealous of the Swami who acted as a mediator between the Peshwa and the Chhatrapati.

(The Swami had seen the tenures of the Peshwaships of Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao. The Swami died in 1745 and we do not know why Nana Saheb was unfriendly toward him during the five years of his Peshwaship. Alekar's charges against him are not sound. Nana Saheb was responsible for so many religious acts during these five years and we cannot call him a heretic because he did not allow the Swami to make an ' abhisheka' to the Meruling temple.¹ Ramdas was guiding neither the affairs of Shivaji nor those of Sambhaji. The analogy therefore is not correct. Nana Saheb did not like the Swami's meddling in politics.² It was moreover quite impossible for Nana Saheb to overthrow Shahu which ultimately would have led to a disaster not very favourable to the Peshwa and the Brahmins in general. Alekar's charge of jealousy against Nana Saheb is untenable. His statement moreover that 'Shahu and Bajirao had to carry on the work of Shivaji in the 17th century' is not wholly true. Their works were not the same. They differed in many respects. Maharashtra would not have been ruined if Bajirao and Shahu had become enemies. It was not possible for Bajirao to go against Shahu. Bajirao's loyalty moreover was not due to the mediation of the Swami alone. Granting that the Swami sometimes made

1. PBCL 157

² Ibid 72, 159

recommendations in favour of Bajirao. This cannot lead us to infer that Bajirao's relations with the Chhatrapati were dependant upon the mediation of the Swami alone. The Swami's so-called efforts to improve the Sardars were hardly worth notice. The isolated example of Jagjivan Pawar is often quoted. We find the Swami a nonentity in the contemporary politics of Maharashtra. The Angre brothers, Sambhaji and Manaji, several times joined hands with the Portuguese and the British. Chandrasen Jadhav, Sambhaji of Kolhapur, the Dabhades, the Nimbalkars and the Thorats helped the Nizam many times. The Swami had no control over them. The profligacy of Yeshwantrao Pawar or Sambhaji Angre could not be checked by the Swami. It will not be an exaggeration to say that almost all the Maratha campaigns of the eighteenth century were financed by the money-lenders (savkars). The Peshwas borrowed money from many savkars among whom the Swami was one. It is not correct to infer that a particular campaign was entirely financed by the Swami alone. The Peshwa diaries and selections from the Peshwa Daftars show that in the accounts of the Peshwas reference to the Swami is insignificant)

7) Building Works.

Alekar contends that the Swami furthered the religiosity of the nobility by his sacrifices and satisfied the public need for buildings while he himself lived aloof from the material needs. (The Swami's ~~truthlessness~~ in extracting his lent capital cannot be overlooked because of his public works. The Rastes built temples at Wai, Nana Phadnis put up buildings at Toka and Menavali and Ahilyabai is remembered at almost all holy places in India for her munificent donations towards public works. The Swami's works stand no comparison with these works.)

8) The Swami and other saints.

Nothing strikes us so peculiar in Hindu religious injunctions as the high pedestal on which the spiritual teacher is placed and the implicit faith which the community has in him for weal or woe. Nor is the feeling one of recent growth. Since the times of the Upanishads this feeling is seen firmly rooted in the minds of the people. The Kathopanishad proclaims "He who loves the Lord intensely and loves his Guru as the Lord Himself, is alone fit to receive the Highest Wisdom".

Brahmendra Swami, we have seen belonged to the path of Karma Kanda with a slight addition of the path of Yoga. While his way of salvation was through the religious rites

such as yajna, homa, samaradhana, japa etc. the other saints in Maharashtra were mainly the devotees of the Bhakti school. This was the difference between him and other Saints of Maharashtra. His devotees mainly belonged to the Maratha nobility. The Swami luckily acquired an eminent position of being the Guru of Chhatrapati and the Maratha nobility. This position gave him immense advantage over other religious preceptors which he fully exploited.

The Saints in Maharashtra are either known for their elevated character or for their service to the Maratha society. Jnaneshwar wrote his celebrated book "Jnaneshwari" and expounded the philosophy of the Bhagwad Gita in the language of the common masses (i.e.Marathi). Namdeo and Eknath also contributed to the Marathi literature. Namdeo is remembered for his intense devotion to God. Tukaram's poetry has a high place in the Marathi literature and is valued for its propagation on the Path of Bhakti and good conduct in life. All these saints have written down something for the benefit of future generations. The Swami unfortunately has no such work to his credit. His few remarks which are extant are not so deep and penetrating in their appeal. Nothing so lofty do we see in the Swami's life. Though he was known as a Saint, there was little of spirituality in his behaviour. He was out and out a secular and a shrewdly practical man. Longing for material goods was a far deeper trait of him than the longing for the spiritual gains.

9) His Correspondence.

& unpublished

In his correspondence published/which is the only written record existing about him, there are no gems of thought comparable to other saintly souls in Maharashtra. We do not find universal and ennobling religious, political or moral principles included in his letters. There are no sincere, elevating and ennobling sentiments on the uplift of the nation, nor anything on self sacrifice or on the importance of unity. We find only a few tales from ^{the} Ramayana and ^{the} Mahabharata scattered in his correspondence. On the contrary ignoble sentiments have been exhibited so often that they lead us to anguish. Glimpses of crude uncultured life also can be found in his correspondence. Though these letters throw some light on the historical facts of his times, they lack nobility of thought , depth, serenity, farsightedness, purity and sainthood.¹

We do not find a single instance comparable with like the benevolent actions of saints ^{like} Damaji or Eknath in the life of the Swami. Saint Tukaram has once said that the saint does not gain anything else from the worship of God except 'pure character'. The Swami's mind does not appear to be either pure or devoted to God.

1. Anonymous article on the 'Structure of the Swami's Mind'
- Granthmala Vol.90 pp.1-11.

The Swami has been compared with the Saint Ramdas by many of his admirers.

Ramdas and the Swami both were born in the Aurangabad District. Ramdas was born at Jamb while the Swami was born at Dudhadwadi. Both left their houses in their early childhood ostensibly in pursuit of spiritualism.

The fathers of both the saints died in their childhood. Both had performed a 'Tapa' i.e. penance. Both were lovers of nature and solitude. Both were associated with the Maratha state and the ruling Bhonsale family. Both had retired in the solitude of the jungle at the beginning but returned afterwards and settled down in the vicinity of crowded localities. Both had their final abodes on the bank of the river Krishna. Ramdas built the temple of Rama at Chafal and installed 11 images of Hanuman at different places. The Swami too built temples at Dhawadshi, Virmade, Mardhe, Gothana, etc. Parshuram temples were built at Gothana and Mardha. Samartha propagated the worship of Rama and Hanuman. The Swami on a negligible scale propagated the worship of Parshuram.

According to Prof. N. R. Phatak to enhance the grandeur of God was the 'Summum bonum' of the life of Ramdas. To build temples, to impose the peaks on these temples, to build wells and tanks, to create gardens, to build resthouses for pilgrims, to exhibit royal grandeur of God in the festivities of God, to

keep birds and beasts in the vicinity of the temple, to have plenty of food for the worshippers of God, and to provide simple amenities and luxuries in the festivities were the things desired by Ramdas. The Swami had no different objects than these.¹

Damaji Thorat, ^{and} Udaji Chavan were not on good terms with either the Chhatrapati or Bajirao Peshwa. But the Swami was friendly towards them. Baji Ghorpade was not having good relations with Shivaji. But Ramdas secured an inam of land from him.² Both were celibates and possessed an excellent health.

Notwithstanding these similarities, they differed in many respects.

Ramdas had made a pilgrimage to the South. The Swami is said to have seen all the holy places in the north and the South. But we have no proof of this. When Ramdas was at Nasik, immersed in the Tapa he tried to learn many things. The Swami has not made any such attempt. The Swami lived with pomp at Dhavadshi spending 3000 to 5000 rupees per month.³ Ramdas many times retired to his

1. PSRLW p. 10

2. IBID p. 15

3. PBCL 270, 308

lonely places for meditation such as Helvak and Shivthar.

Ramdas lived for 72 years while the Swami lived for 96 years. Ramdas met Shivaji in 1672. Thus their period of acquaintance was of eight years only. There is no correspondence extant of the Swami with Bajirao before 1725. That means Bajirao corresponded with the Swami for fifteen years only.

About Brahmendraswami Rajwade observes, " From personal and national point of view the Swami's behaviour with the Angres was blameworthy". Alekar's reply to this charge is not convincing.

The Swami, it is said, quarrelled with petty persons like the Patils, Mahars, clerks etc. on trifles. Ramdas never indulged in such petty affairs. Alekar replies to this charge thus. "Ramdas had to remain aloof from the society. The Swami had to interfere because lawlessness and immorality were in the ascendant. The Swami had to chastise the people. Where preaching became useless, the Swami expressed his anger. People immediately awoke to their duties and courted his blessings. He needed 'Yagas' for this purpose".

(This is not correct. We have seen that the Swami himself evaded the law many times. He got angry not because he had any aim or mission, but because his ego was touched and his basic nature itself was nagging.)

Ambition, it is said, is the chief motive of the Swami. Ramdas is said to have no such desires.²

Alekar observes that these things had political importance. Quoting the remark of Anderson he suggests that the Swami was much esteemed in Shahu's court. To destroy the Yawanas was his ambition.²

(Parading his high position was no doubt the chief yearning of the Swami. It had no political importance at all except self display. The Swami was in close contact with the Siddi during and after the Janjira war. We do not find the Swami exerting himself zealously for destroying the Siddi.) Athley states that the object of his ambition was to impress people who loved pomp and "Thus make them obedient. His advice was invaluable in lifting up the country."³

"This cannot be admitted. His love of pomp no doubt was true. But it did not lead the people to obedience. How could his curses of burning houses and throwing the ancestors in hell be of any benefit to the country.⁴)

1 R.III Pr. p. 193 (3) For full discussion see Chapter VI-(Hi)

2 Granthamala Vol. 92 p. 84

3. Athley - Kesari 31-1-1905

4 R. III. 340, 294

The Swami loved to accumulate worldly goods. Ramdas never aspired to have any. In levelling this charge against the Swami, according to Alekar, Rajwade, has overlooked the public works of the Swami.

Athley replies to Rajwade thus. If the Swami is to be criticised for making an estate then Ramdas also should be censured ~~for~~ for accepting 33 villages.¹ (Alekar's remark appears partially true, as we do not find the mention of the Swami's public works in Rajwade's discussion. There is no use simply quoting parallel instances in the life of Ramdas. What is to be marked is the attitude of the two.

The Swami cannot be absolved from the charges of usury or his high handedness on the plea that the many so collected was for religious purposes. Not only was such conduct covetous, but it also goes ill with the status of Paramhamas. The Swami moreover seems to have been always a greedy man. We are simply stunned by his enormous demands on his devotees in the name of God. Ramdas might have secured some villages, but we do not find him exploiting his spiritual position for temporal ends.)

The Swami showered dirty abuses like the 'Kalboa of Poona.^{1A} Alekar states that the Swami was a hot tempered man no doubt.² But his services proved beneficial to the nation. According to Athley the Swami's anger was momentary. He further adds that firstly the abuse of the Swami was simply experimental and - secondly faithful people believed that the abuse was tantamount to blessings.³

1. Life of Ramdas - Nirnaysagar - p.8. Athley Kesari. 31-1-1905.

1A R.III Pr.p.193

2 Alekar Granthmala Vol.92 p.84 (5).

3. Athley Kesari 31-1-1905.

(The Swami was not only ill tempered but a meddlesome, pugnacious and an uncultured man. Granted that the Patils of Virmade and Dhavadshi were mischievous, ^{the} Swami's behaviour with them is most ungentlemanly. His abuse, his obscene language, his curses, his cruelties for exaction of his money could on no account be excused. Viroobai herself was shocked to find the angel-like person like the Swami indulging in such low and dirty behaviour.¹

to

The Swami according Rajwade was superstitious. He gave medicines for issue to the queens, and to Shahu for his fever. He believed in ghosts and witch doctors (bhagats). Ramdas on the contrary attempted to drive away these superstitions from the peoples minds in his Dasbodha.^{1 *}

Deo remarks that his devotion to God is doubtful when we consider that his mind was preoccupied with ghosts, goblins, spells and witchcraft. A true devotee of the Brahma never gets perturbed with these. Ramdas condemned them outright. To this Alekar replies that belief in ghosts and goblins is a matter of personal opinion and was ^a current custom of the time. Had the Swami used witchcraft against or set ghosts upon somebody he would have been a target for criticism. But to Deo the Swami's belief in ghosts and

1 DCHM 20/1049

1* R. III Pr. p. 194 (6 & 7)

goblins was a clear index of his narrow outlook and lower plane of mind.¹ (As intelligence advances, superstition declines. The Swami's mediocre intellect therefore becomes explicit from his belief in these superstitions.)

Rajwade says that the Swami liked Hathayoga and Samadhi. Ramdas never ^{appears to have} attempted these feats. Alekar replies, "It is a wonder that Rajwade underestimates the value of Yoga and Samadhi. Even the authors of the Upanishads and the Bhagwadgita praise the value of the Yoga. Rajwade is making his position ridiculous by scoffing at these things. For Yoga mental control is essential. With the Swami Rajwade is criticising the religious principles and the propaganda of the Yogis. In justifying one's own opinions one commits blunders. It is true one losing his sense leads his fall in 'hundred ways'.²

(It might be true the Swami knew some Hathayoga. Experts say that a man practising Yoga does not necessarily control his temper. On the contrary he is inclined to become a hot tempered man on account of the over confidence roused by means of Yoga. Had the Swami possessed super/human powers he would have protected the sanctity of Parshuram Kshetra from being violated by the Siddi. But he possessed no such power. Because he took to his heels when ghosts were

1. Vividhajnanavistara 33/5 p.186

2. R.III Pr.P. 194 (6) Alekar Granthamala Vol. 92 P.85

set upon his house at Dhavadshi. It cannot be said that he wanted to save his 'tapa' because we find him spending his 'tapa' on anger, abuses and curses.)¹

(The Swami we have seen, was a meddler in politics. (We find several instances in the correspondence when he had been severely censured by the Queens Sakwarbai & Viroobai. Ramdas was neither intimate with the ladies from the royal house nor he ever attempted to utilise their influence for his motives. He is never seen to be meddling in politics as the Swami did. We have got several instances of the backbiting tendency of the Swami. Not a single instance can be quoted in respect of Ramdas of setting one person against the other).

Ramdas founded the Ramdasi sect and established about hundred monasteries (maths) in Maharashtra. His disciples like Giridhar, Venna and Akka have produced literary works. (The Swami had neither a sect nor any following. His matha was all a personal affair - an estate of a spiritual landlord.)

The name of Ramdas has remained in Maharashtra and is still remembered by millions not because he was the Guru of the Chhatrapati, but because of his great literary work,-

1. Granthmala Vol. 90 p.7

the Dasabodha. (Ramdas knew the art of classical music and many of his songs have been composed in different ragas. He was an excellent poet. The Dasabodha is a rich mine of gems of thought on various topics.¹ Except the letters, no literature of the Swami is known to us.)

The Swami, according to Deo, had neither the ability of a poet nor that of an author nor the gift of the gab. Deo thinks that the Swami stands no comparison with Ramdas who had a great book to his credit. Alekar accepts the charge made by Deo that the mental wealth which enriches succeeding generations was absent in the Swami. But he adds that only becoming an author is not sufficient for greatness. Great saints lived as they wrote. Jnandeo and Tukaram impressed the people by their character. Jnandeo has shown in literature, the Swami made a name in history, while Ramdas triumphed in both the fields. Ramshastri cannot be criticised because he did not write a treatise on jurisprudence. The Swami did not propagate irreligion and anti-national views and encouraged vices. To this Deo replies, "The qualities essential for achieving greatness, for its preservation and for the popularity are undoubtedly of high calibre. But they are not permanent. They might be 'rajasa' or 'tamasa'. Aurangzeb achieved emperorship by foul means and ruled for fifty years. Yet no one calls him a great saint. A great man is not necessarily virtuous and would not always be able

to guide the people well. The presence of some showy merits will not make the nation great. Bacon had said that genuinely great men have the foresight in respect of time and space. Shivaji's system of eight ministers and Burke's forecast of America's independence are instances in point. The Swami was not unworthy. Had Ramshastri contributed some book, he would have impressed the people better. The existence of 'tamasi' attitude in the Swami's correspondence makes his impression fainter on our minds. Bad men in history never preach their badness for achieving their high status; on the contrary they attempt to hide their black deeds."

Deo further adds, "Great writers remain friends of many ~~after~~ their death through their books. The Swami left no legacy. Ramdas is not remembered by his village Chaphal but by his book 'Dasabodha'. The lustre of virtue is eternal, while that of wealth and prosperity is temporary". Alekar replies that people hold contradictory views about a person's actions. The Swami was a Yogi and exerted himself for the welfare of the state. He treated all alike from king Shahu to a villager."¹ (His statement moreover that the Swami made history, is open to challenge.)

(Deo's arguments are quite sound & need no comments.)
Alekar's reply is not convincing. The Swami's status of being a Yogi is open to challenge on account of his misbehaviour.

1. Vividhajnanavistara 33/5/6 pp. 182-185.

It is interesting to note that the Swami had enemies because he spoke ill of many persons. The letter in which Shahu has been criticised by the Swami is a private letter. The Swami dared not speak ill before Shahu.¹

According to Rajwade, Shivaji the disciple of Ramdas, was a man of very high character. He honourably sent back the beautiful yawana lady respecting her as a mother. The Swami's disciple Bajirao on the other hand had kept Mastani a Yawana lady as his concubine.

(We have seen that Bajirao was quite intimate with the Swami and related almost everything to the Swami in his letters. It cannot be accounted for why Bajirao never makes a single mention of Mastani in any of his letters to the Swami. The Swami too was familiar with all the members of the Peshwa's family, and did not even care to criticise them. His total silence on the affair of Mastani is mysterious. It means, i) The Swami did not wish to interfere in the private affairs of his disciple. ii) or he did not wish to touch the foibles of Bajirao and thus to alienate him or iii) he simply connived at the action of Bajirao being himself helpless. The Swami's silence on the Mastani affair has remained a mystery in the Maratha History.)

It is said Ramdas had few disciples. The Swami's horizon on the contrary had widened.

Some people have argued (especially Alekar) that during the first half of the seventeenth century times had vastly changed. The Swami could not remain aloof from the Society like Ramdas. Sacrifice, burning patriotism, unstinted loyalty, moral liberalism had vanished and in their place jealousy, false pride, selfishness machination had become the elite fashion. Mere spiritual advice was of no use. Had there been no man like the Swami the Maratha state would have gone to pieces. It was the Swami who guarded the loyalty of all sardars to Shahu. Alekar appears to have gone to the extreme in extolling the Swami. Alekar's remark that but for the Swami the Maratha state would have gone to pieces is not only far wide off the mark but also untrue. Why then the Swami could not conciliate the Angre brothers? Why did he favour Bajirao Peshwa alone against the other ministers in the court of Satara? What business had the Swami in prejudicing the mind of Bajirao about Pilaji Jadhav, Khanderao Dabhade and Babuji Naik? Why did the Swami not prevent Bajirao from nursing jealousy against the Pratinidhi in the Janjira campaign? Rajwade's remark that the Swami's behaviour from the national point of view was highly derogatory, has been proved to be correct at the bar of history. Rajwade further remarks that the Swami was the pioneer in Maharashtra

in wearing ocre coloured clothes and doing dark deeds; in promoting internecine jealousy; in cutting the throats of those who had had faith in him. Future generations copied this example with vengeance." These seemed to him the reasons for the ultimate downfall of the Marathas.

Rajwade states that perfumes, rich clothes, and dainties were relished by the Swami. Ramdas never adorned his body with these things. Alekar overlooks the subject of perfumes and rich clothes, and attempts to answer only in regard to the dainties. This according to Alekar is a false allegation made by Rajwade. The Swami according to Alekar took only butter milk (whey) and cow's urine. Parasnus also has stated at one place that the Swami's daily food consisted of cow's urine and whey only.

"If the Swami," writes Athley, "who subsisted on cow's urine and roots only, is to be criticised for sensuous desires; why then Ramdas also should not be criticised for accepting the octroi revenue of Mendhekhore for the sake of his betel nut leaves?"¹

(Alekar and Athley at many places are seen committing the fallacy of "suprecio veri and suggestio falsi". The Swami cannot be regarded superior to Ramdas by merely searching parallels in their lives).

1. Athley Kesari 31-1-1905.

(From the Swami's own remarks about food in his letters, it appears that only whey and cow's urine were not the only articles of his food. His daily food though it did not consist of cow's urine and whey alone, contained many other things along with these two. He demanded from his devotees different sorts of fruit and vegetables growing in the Konkan. Ghee and honey also appear to be daily items in his food.¹)

The remarks of Alekar and Parasnisi regarding the Swami's food were not correct.) Ramdas is never seen demanding any such things from his devotees.

"The Swami", writes Rajwade, "could not write a single sentence plainly and correctly." Ramdas is quite an adept in Marathi literature. Rajwade's remark seems to be exaggerating¹. Some of the Swami's letters with crucial examples from Mahabharat and Ramayana are worth reading. Though the Swami did not write like an angel, he wrote well. Alekar accepts this charge of Rajwade but remarks, "This is true that the Swami could not write a single sentence plainly and correctly. From the literature of Ramdas we can infer that he was a genius. But this does not prove that the Swami was useless and destructive."

1. PBCL 197, 326, 327.

Rajwade's observation that Ramdas was a lover of nature and that Dhavadshi was not so lovely as Chafal is unwarranted. The Swami had stayed more than twenty-five years at Parshuram. Parshuram, with its vernal wood and natural scenery is a lovely place even today. Meruling, Dhavadshi and Virmade too are beautiful spots of nature. These places might have been far lovelier two and half centuries ago. The Swami did love nature as much as Ramdas was fond of it.

The main difference was that we can see the endeavour of Ramdas in raising the national character in his institutions, writings, speeches and attitudes. We do not find it in case of the Swami.¹ The main current in all the activities of Ramdas was Maharashtra Dharma -- which was nothing else but the service to the religion and the country. Such a word even was not known to the Swami. Sambhaji Angre once remarked about Shivaji that he created a new Maharashtra.² But the Swami has never talked of Maharashtra Dharma.

Lastly the estimate of Ramdas made by Phatak is worth noting here. He writes, " Samarth has described at various places the best of the saints in eulogising him as an upright man, Mahanta, having taken the best of the knowledge, one having the satva kind of virtues only, a sadhu, and a siddha.

1. R.III Pr.p. 194.

2. Ibid 273.

He himself must have possessed these virtues in a far greater magnitude than he has described; which can be seen apparently glancing at the life of Samartha. He had mercy, kindness, peace, purity, honeyed-tongue and courtesy. That is why he was always a welcome company to others. He made others happy and everyone was pleased to meet him. His personal life was so serenely pure that it had no effect of scandals on it. When we think of his physical life we cannot but remark about the virtue of celibacy in him. This is evident in his literature also. He has not expressed illiberal views about women at a single place. Not only that, but you cannot find a single sentence in the whole of his literature where the senses of the reader are roused. A man who controlled the senses in his literature in such a severe manner, must have had a heart far more serene and pure, which needs no emphasis.¹

The Swami, according to Rajwade, was jealous of other saints. Ramdas was a friend of all Sadhus. Rajwade has not given any proof for his statement. The Swami in one of his letters to Sambhaji Angre has paid compliments to Baba Yakut and Mounibava.² We find Dev of Chinchwad sending clothes to the Swami (mentioned by the Swami in his letter).³

1. PSRLW p.17

2. R.III 273.

3. SPD 18/23.

About the differences of clothes worn by both saints, given by Rajwade, it is unnecessary to say anything.

"The Swami carried on usury" says Rajwade, "like Voltaire, Ramdas had no time to do this business. The Swami's correspondence is full of other demands along with loans and their interests."¹ "The Swami," writes Parasnisi, "spent his wealth in giving free meals to the poor and advancing loans to the Chhatrapati, Peshwa and the Sardars. The loans were recovered with interest. Sometimes people did not pay back the loans."²

Alekar accepts that the Swami carried on usury and spoke harshly to those who did not pay. But he utilised this money for good use, such as financing ^{the} Peshwa's campaigns e.g. Bassein.³

Deo criticises the Swami's ways of earning money. However well the Swami might have spent his wealth; the means he adopted for acquiring it were not worthy. His thirst for wealth, his usurious rates of interest, the nagging of his debtors and his ways and means of recovering money were anything but a creditable to a saint.⁴

1. R.III Pr. p.211

2. PBC p.103

3. Alekar Granthmala Vol.92 p.86

4. Deo Vividhajnanavistara. Vol.33/2 p.43

For full criticism on the Swami's usury see Chap.V

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(The usury of the Swami is alone sufficient to lower him to the status of a commoner. As a Brahmin and as a saint he should not have been an usurer. His high-handedness, moreover, in exacting the recoveries of his debts and interest are mostly censurable. 'Ends justify the means' is not a sound argument to support his usury. The mind of Ramdas was absorbed by far greater sentiments than the worship of Mammon.)

(The Swami meddled in politics which was not his province. He evaded law by asking extra concessions. He made quixotic suggestions to the queens for making friendship with the English, which he ought to have made either to the Chhatrapati or to the Peshwa. He poisoned the ears of the Peshwa about other ministers. He felt no disgrace in asking villages from the enemies of the Marathas like the Siddi and the Nizam. He tried to promote his favourites even at the cost of able men by exerting his own influence. He interfered with justice. He utilised government officials for his needs such as collecting his dues. We do not find Ramdas indulging in these petty things. Ramdas, on the contrary endeavoured to raise the character of the Maratha Society and to unite them by one sentiment of nationality.)

vistara
, The editor of the *Vividhjnan*, concluded the controversy in the following words. " Thus ends the

controversy. Any sensible person can now easily get the true estimate of the Swami from his biography by Parasnisi, from the pros and cons presented by Messrs Deo and Alekar, and lastly from the article by Rajwade in the Granthmala. We are of the opinion that that estimate will definitely be not ^{very} favourable to the Swami." The editor's remark stands true even today as ^{amply} testified by the latest researches and ^{may} be supported by further researches also.

CHAPTER VIII : PERSONALITY & ROLE OF THE SWAMI.

- i) His Personality.
- ii) His Role.

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CHAPTER VIII

Personality & Role of the Swami.

(i) Personality:

Very little is known about the personality of the Swami to the historian . Whatever is known belongs to the last twenty years of his life - mainly about his senility. We know nothing about his youth.

I Physical Appearance.

From his long life it is evident that he enjoyed a sound health. Fruit, milk, costly medicines such as musk, saffron, hemagartha, honey, kept up his health. He must have been a superb rider of superb horses, because he shows keen test in respect of horses even in his old age.¹ Though an octogenian he is seen riding on a horse from the Konkan to the Desha and from Satara to Poona via Saswad and Parinche. Parasnis has given one picture of the Swami at the beginning of his biography. It is said he secured this picture from the family of Bhagwats. The Swami's figure in this picture seems to be rather bulky. He does not appear to be a tall person. He has cleanly shaved his face and head after the fashion of a sanyasi. He is wearing the traditional frock of the Maratha nobleman wearing a rich shawl with the border probably either of silk or of gold. He wears a velvet cap and has got the red mark (gundha) on his forehead. He is sitting on a

1. DCHM 20/1036; PBCL 68, 71, 140, 155.

rich carpet with a rosary in his hand. His eyes are big, but ears are comparatively small. He has got a broad forehead, a straight nose and thin lips. His face is round. The picture appears to be not of a Sanyasin but of a Maratha nobleman.¹

Tradition has it that the Swami had long arms (अंगुष्ठा).²

Even in his old age he was plump, healthy and active because he must have been regularly getting his body massaged. We find Narayan and Kinknel oil in huge quantities always demanded by him.³ As he was demanding these oils, he seems to have been suffering from gout or rheumatic pains in his later years.

His Food.

Honey, whey, cow's urine and vegetables were the daily items in his food. On account of many years' stay in the Konkan, he was accustomed to the food of that region. He was a rice eater. He had special love for vegetables such as Kon, carindas, mangoostana, (amsul) and roots of succulent fruit (suran)⁴. He was fond of pine-apples, jackfruit, grapes and specially mangoes of the Goanese and Bansod variety.⁵

1. PBC frontispiece.

2. BISM Q. Shastha Sammelan Vritta, p.192.

3. DCHM 20/634, 714, R.III 18,248. PBCL 272.

4. DCHM 20/642, 715, 693, 748; R.III 178,181.

5. DCHM 20/748, 962, 969, PBCL 330. DCHM 20/657.

R.III 246, 271.

Dried rolled cakes of jack fruit, dried plantains, wall nuts and almonds were the things always in demand by him.¹ He was in the habit of chewing betels also. Tobacco is also seen demanded in maunds by the Swami, but we have found no mention of the Swami's smoking the same for himself!² Even opium has been mentioned in one letter addressed to him.

Parasnus, Alekar and Athley have attempted to emphasise that the Swami lived upon cow's urine and whey (takra) only. Firstly it is not possible to maintain oneself on these two things only and still live upto the grand old age of ninety. Besides it is not true, as the Swami himself mentions, his daily meal made up of many other things, in many of his letters. Besides milk and whey (takra) some vegetables, ghee, sugar, groundnut etc. were taken by the Swami in his daily meal.³

His clothes.

The Swami, though he was a Yogi, lived in affluence. He had an intense fascination for rich clothes especially those of broadcloth velvet and of shawls. He wore a velvet cap and at the time of Samadhi a specially prepared cap was worn by him. For the worship of images he wore a special kind of silken dhoti ^{from} ~~from~~ Tadpatri. He liked to squat on the tiger's skin which he is found demanding very often from Sambhaji Shinde, the commandant of Rasalgad fort.

1. R.III 246, 54. DCHM 20/615, 577, 629, 866, 592, 598.

2. DCHM 12/186, 592, 598; 20/976, 655.

3. PBCL 197, 294, 326, 327-

Sometimes he asked for deer skins also. His footwear were either those of elk skin or velvet shoes or sometimes wooden sandles (Khadavas). He used an earthen pot for cow's urine.¹

He loved to live like a luxurious squire. He rode horses as said above, he desired to travel in a palanquin, which he cared not if it was his own or borrowed from others for temporary use. He loved to have camels and elephants for his procession after his samadhi.² His collection of jewellary and ornaments of gold and silver was rich.³

The Swami liked firearms too for loudly announcing his presence to the nearby people. He asked for guns from Bajirao and other Maratha sardars. He has donated guns to Pawar and Thorat from his stock. It was for the sake of a gun that he quarrelled with Sambhaji Angre. On hearing the triumphant meeting of Bajirao and the Nizam, the Swami caused the guns to be fired and distributed sugar, as free charity.⁴

His love of luxuries.

The Swami relished perfumes and scents also. Specially he is in need of rose water, whether for external or internal use, we know not. He liked bedsteads of teak and ivory⁵

1. DCHM 20/315, 750, 539, 556, 845, 542,902; R.III 23,346.

PBCL 293.

2. PBCL 107, 333.

3. R.III 45, 261; PBCL 176, 285.

4. PBCL 322, 193, 207; SPD 10/85, R.III 19.

5. R.III 23

presumably for his own use.¹ It might be argued that the Swami demanded these things for the idols. But as we find no mention of such nature, and from other circumstantial evidence it seems that these luxurious articles were required by the Swami for himself only. The articles which he bestowed upon others include none of these.

His daily routine.

The Swami enjoyed a sound health till his end. We find him complaining of ill health during the last ten years of his life.² He appears to be a busy man judging from his daily programme. In one of his letters written to one of his dependents - probably to Jagannath Chimmaji - he has given a glimpse of his daily programme.

The Swami writes, "Rise up with the lark and recite the name of God. Then have a glance at the horses and the cattle, and enquire about them. Finishing the morning duties have a wash and instruct the people in their various duties. Then for two or three hours inspect the gardens, farms and fields. After this take a bath, perform the puja, sandhya and other rituals. Then have meals. After the meals look after the office work for a couple of hours and then write down the accounts."³

1. R.III 23, DCHM 20/535, 942, PBCL 268,261.

2. PBCL 322, 285, 328, 323, 276,316. DCHM 20/865.

3. DCHM 12/641 A.

The Swami's daily programme must not have differed very much from the one given above. He heard the recitation of 'Purana' by Jagannath Chinnaji in the afternoon.¹ Every day he had to look after the accounts, and write reminders and letters to different persons. He had moreover to supervise the various building works that were going on at different places. He is seen giving minute instructions to his dependents and supervisors regarding his building works and his gardens.²

Much of his time was spent on rituals, such as archa anusthana, puja, samaradhana and yajnas.³

His education and learning.

Nothing do we know of his early days and youth. It is said he had studied under one Jnanendra Saraswati at Kashi. We have no knowledge what exactly was the nature of the instruction he had received from his guru. There are only two instances when he seems to have quoted Sanskrit quotations in his letters. One of them is fragmentary viz.:-

द्वार्णं चित्तं, द्वार्णं चित्तं --- जीवितमानन् धर्मस्य।

This appears to be a perversion of the Sanskrit quotation.

चतुं चित्तं, चतुं चित्तं, चतुं जीवितमानम् ।
चतुर्वर्षमेदं सर्वं कीर्तयेत्य स ज्ञानतो ॥ 4

The other one is

द्वार्णरप्य शर्तज्ञानम् लप्सकारप्य जीवितम्
संत, संत, संत अमीनाम् ॥ 5

1. PBCL 274.
2. DCHM 12/641 A, 20/865.
3. R.III 272, 269. DCHM 12/626, 1060. PBCL 131.
4. शुभार्थं रात्रं माण्डागारम्, निर्जितगर जैस, 144/5
5. PBCL 258

We can infer from this that he had some knowledge of Sanskrit but there is not ^{an} inkling of his ^{having studied} systematically studied any subject as a whole. He seems to have had a working acquaintance with the Mahabharata, Ramayana and some puranas, the stories from which are scattered in his numerous letters.

His pets.

He was fond of domestic animals. He had a collection of cows and buffalows at his establishment.¹ He kept horses and gave pet names to them. One horse named 'Ratan' is mentioned in one of his letters.² He asked his dependents to keep dogs to guard their homes and property.³ He has once asked for peafowls to be sent to him.⁴

His saddened days and dejection

During the last twenty years of his life his mind seems to be perturbed of which we know a good deal. It was not occupied ~~from his correspondence~~ by any great idea, but it was saddened by his debtors. He is seen constantly reminding his devotees about this grief. To Bajirao Peshwa he wrote, "You are talking that whatever you possess belongs to me. You are simply bluffing. You possess no intention of drying up my wet eyes by doing the needful. It is you who have upset me." To Sambhaji Angre he wrote, " You are not doing anything

1. DCHM 20/558, 12/201. R.III 112.

2. DCHM 20/541, PBCL 67; R.III 12.

3. R.III 119.

4. DCHM 12/1046

to wipe out my tears. I am grieved at it. In a letter to Viroobai the Swami writes, "I am fed up. My honour has been despoiled like that of Draupadi. No one takes a pity on me. I thought like dying and abandoning this land for good."¹

Rajwade observes that the Swami seems to have grieved to the end of his life for the ignominy he sustained on account of the elephant episode and for the loss in his money transactions. This attitude does not show a calm, unshaken mind to suit his status of ^aparamhamsa.

He appears not to be a smiling and jocular in nature. The Bakhar of the Swami mentions only one incident when the Swami had cut a joke. One day when Shahu came to Dhavadshi to see the Swami, the Swami paid him respect and arose in ~~his~~ his honour on his entering the house. It was a grand surprise to Shahu who asked the Swami what was the occasion for this unusual respect. The Swami told him that Shahu had become the Swami's son-in-law because queen Sagunabai regarded the Swami as her father.²

The death of Bajirao, his best disciple, was a terrible blow to the Swami. He became grief stricken and even contemplated suicide. Chimaji had to console him.³ The Gita says that a Yogi controls his mind and regards happiness and sorrow as equal. The Swami's mind seems to be as sensitive as that of a commoner.

1. PBCL 270, 310; DCHM 20/1068.

2. SKBC p.21

3. PBCL 141.

(ii) His Role in Maratha History.

As Shakespeare says, "Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and the greatness is thrust upon some." Brahmendra Swami belonged partially to the latter two categories. The Swami secured his position by dint of his merit of so called 'tapa' and 'Samadhi'. It was neither inherited nor he had exerted himself to gain it. He enjoyed popularity for a fairly long time. Many had devotion and gratitude for him. He had seen the rise and blossoming of the Maratha state. His life is important because in his later years he was in contact with the great noblemen and politicians of his time; and though he was a 'Paramhansa' he partly took interest in politics and moved among politicians which added an extra lustre to his career.

"Paramhansa," writes Ghurye, "is the highest stage in asceticism, most coveted of all. A Paramhansa is believed to have attained such a stage of self knowledge that routine distinctions and observations and observances of the mundane world are not binding on him. He is believed to be so perfect in self-control that nothing can disturb him. He is so pure that nothing can contaminate him. Even the doctrinal differences between Saivism and Vaishnavism stand dissolved in him. Paramhansas are generally great scholars well versed in Sanskrit learning."¹. As Rajwade says "The Swami

was a Paramhansa in name only. Otherwise his soul was coated with a thick layer of sensuous desires.¹" It is very doubtful from the Swami's actions whether he ever was one of those few, who without possessing the elevated mind deserving the state of 'Paramhansa', called themselves so.

" His patriotism was not worthy of praise and statesmanship was rather alien to him. He practised 'Hathayoga', worshipped God and was keen on building wells, tanks, temples etc. He was a celibate and was proud of his religion. But these traits could be seen even among other men also. The existence of these traits enriches the vanity of a person and makes him think that everyone should listen to his commands, that God bestows special favours on him and that his blessings and curses have a great power events. Man does not achieve true greatness unless this vanity vanishes from his mind."

" Vanity or pride in the limited sense is connoted as patriotism or nation-worship. If it is unlimited, it is called philanthropy or humanity. Whereas Brahmendraswami was a celibate, practised Hathayoga and inspite of these he took interest in politics. It seems therefore, that he was struggling to confirm himself in the higher state of ego. But it was beyond his power and he lingered midway."

" Had he spent his life in collecting alms and building temples, it would have been well and good. But he practised usury in the name of God and to collect dues he took the help of his 'tapa' and cursed the people. He desired to humble the Maratha sardars and statesmen by advancing them loans. He also aspired to display himself as an independent statesman. He therefore, would not pose himself either as a Sanyasin or a temple-builder or a money lender or a Guru or a statesman or even as a begging Brahmin. He was not a villain. He pretended that he was too wise. Had he not meddled in politics which was not his province and remained contented with his status of a Sanyasin, with its outspoken and non-concupiscent attitude, he could have served the nation more in his role as a Guru. He would never have made a good statesman. Had he been an ordinary man, he would have prospered in his business of usury and being religious minded, would have carried on many works of public utility. Had he married and contented himself with remaining a family priest of the Chhatrapati (Rajapurohit) he would certainly have dabbled in politics, though not very successfully. As a soldier he would have suffered hardships but would have remained contented with an obedient and servile post. He had no power of a consummate warrior, statesman or a founder of a religion. He practised incantations and penance. He was less than an ordinary statesman. But he was tempered by anger

and became ungrateful when enraged. He was ^{not} a very kind money lender either. In collecting his dues, many times he overlooked national good, mercy, forgiveness and peace of a Paramhamsa. Either through religious fervor, or through patriotism, he many times suggested plans in politics, but being a child in politics, he cut a very sorry figure (met with dismal failure). Being engrossed either in self-pride, or in his usury, his attention was scarcely drawn towards playing and advancing politics, befitting patriotism. He had no capacity to judge the shrewdest of his contemporaries."

Had the Swami's ego spread over a wider field of Hinduism, had he taken pride in the advancement of the Hindus, rather than seeking the satisfaction in petty matters, had he possessed statesmanship, had he been fired with true patriotism, he would have brought conciliation amongst the Angres by hook or crook. He would also have levelled down the rivalries between the Angres and the Peshwa, and between the Peshwa and the Pratinidhi. Similarly he would have shown fields of equal opportunity and duties to the Peshwa, Dabhade, Raghujji Bhonsle and Babuji Naik; to the Marathas and Rajputs, and binding them by ties of love he would have saved them from internecine struggles. Had he succeeded in performing this service he would have found his niche in the temple of history.

" As he could not carry out any of these things, it can be said that either his patriotism was of a doubtful character and his vision could not touch Hinduism; or the extent of activity, and statesmanship were very poor in him."¹

Though he had mastered his senses by means of celibacy and Hathayoga, he could not control his vanity. This vanity ultimately led him to the path of machination and patriotism of a low order. As the line of Maratha saints had practically become extinct after Ramdas, the Swami found a vacant field to practise his most common religious role in the eighteenth century vaccum. The precept of Ramdas that "Marathas should be united" was scarcely heard during the Swami's time. His building works on a small scale, if isolated from his ways of earning money, the sacrifices he performed and other religious rites he continued, may be regarded as a service to religion in a limited sense. But it had scarcely any moral effect on contemporary society.

From the foregoing discussion it can be said that the Swami was a ~~small~~ indeed. But we had to take the trouble to write these pages because D.B.Parasnisi wrote a long eulogistic biography of the Swami, and its wrong impression is still lurking in the pages of Maratha history here and there. Therefore it became necessary to re-value the historical material and re-estimate the Swami's role after the lapse of half a century.

¹ Anonymous article "Structure of Brahmendra Swami's Mind"
Granthmala Vol. 90, Pp. 1-11

CHAPTER IX : SOCIAL LIFE IN MAHARASHTRA IN
THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- i) The Village Unit.
- ii) Political Life.
- iii) Social Stratification.
- iv) Economic Condition.
- v) Social Condition.
- vi) Administration of Justice.
- vii) Comparison between the Maratha & English Societies of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER IXSOCIAL LIFE IN MAHARASHTRA IN THE
EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(C. 1700 - 1750)

Leaving aside letters to and from the Swami in the Dhavadshi Daftar of the Deccan College Collection, there are a good number of other letters which are useful as they relate to the social conditions of the time. They roughly cover a period of about thirty years from 1720 to 1750 and there are a few letters written after 1750. They furnish valuable material for reconstructing a reliable social history of the people of Maharashtra during an eventful period of their annals; but it will not be ^{the} representative of entire Maharashtra as the subject of the letters is restricted to a few villages in the Konkan and on the Desha.

The Swami's villages

When the Swami was at Parshuram, he had secured fifty per cent of the revenue of the villages Dorle and Mahalunge from the Pratinidhi and also of the villages Pedhe, Ambdas and Naysi ^{as inam} from the Siddi. When he came up ^{secured} the Ghats, he ^{had} the grant of the village Pimpri from the Peshwa, of Malshiras from the Sachiva and of Viramade Anewadi and Dhavadshi from the Chhatrapati.

The villages in the Konkan were in the northern Ratnagiri District and the villages up the ghats were in the Satara and Poona Districts. It is said that the village communities in southern India flourished from the dawn of history. A group of these self-contained units had formerly been placed under the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, who were appointed for revenue collection. They were also called zamindars. Shivaji divested them of the authority which they had enjoyed then, but left the economic privileges they enjoyed unaffected. The Peshwas simply continued this practice of Shivaji.¹

(ii) The village unit

The village communities were allowed to administer their own affairs under the paternal but lax supervision of a set of government officers under the Peshwas. The Maratha village on the Deccan plateau, surrounded by a wall tried to be independent of the outside world as much as possible. For centuries they 'kept the noiseless tenor of their way.' Though the village autonomy was little interfered with, yet there were occasions when the ^{ruling} government was called upon to give decisions. Inter-village boundary disputes were of such a character.

1. SASM p. 243

1. Inter-village boundary disputes

In 1733 a dispute had arisen between the villages Virmade and Nimb. The villagers of Nimb had influence with Viroobai, the mistress of Chhatrapati Shahu, and had unjustly extended their boundary within the limits of Virmade. When Brahmendra Swami learnt this, he went and squatted for nine days on the boundary line between the two villages. News was conveyed to the Chhatrapati who personally came ^{there} and consoled the Swami.¹ We do not know what had ^{actually} taken place in the boundary dispute but the Swami had the good luck of securing a village from the Chhatrapati for the maintenance of the palanquin.

In 1739 there arose a dispute between the villages Patas and Kangaon when recourse was had to an ordeal. A similar dispute had taken place between the villages Fursungi and Loni in 1741.² In 1750 there was a dispute between the villages Virmade and Kharsi.³

2. Communications

The means of communications in those days were of course not very advanced, but the Peshwa's government -

1. PBC p.94

2. R.VI pp. 26-29, 43.

3. DCHM 20/287

did not neglect such means of communication as ferry boats and roads. The roads were on the whole good, particularly in the neighbourhood of big cities.¹ Goods were conveyed on the backs of the bullocks and also with the help of the forced labour. Brahmendra Swami had taken permits for hundreds of bullocks from the Peshwa, the Pratinidhi, the Angres and the Siddis.² Horses were used by higher gentry. Palanquins and litters were used by the wealthier sections. There being no ^{regular} Government Public Works Department, the roads were not properly attended to. On one occasion Brahmendra Swami repaired the Ambola pass which was difficult for the bullocks to climb ^{up} and spent Rs.45,000/- for the building of Khambetki ghat and the tank on this ghat, on the Poona-Satara route.³ There was nothing as regular postal system and for particular occasions ^{such} as when the armies went on distant campaigns, special agencies consisting of special "jasuds" or "kassids", that is, runners were employed.⁴ When a messenger happened to fall ill en route, or was killed, the communication was either delayed or lost. Mudhoji Bhonsale had sent the grant of Balapur and Ankole to the Swami's successor, Advaitendra, in 1755, but the messengers were killed en route and Mudhoji had, therefore, to send the grants again.⁵ Similarly in 1742 the kassid from

1. SASM pp 330-331

2. PBCL 225, 334, DEHM 12/45, 26/921

3. PBC pp. 104-105

4. RMN p. 370

5. DEHM 20/951.

Parshuram, while coming to Dhavadshi, fell ill and the letters were delayed for two months. Marriages were difficult to contract on account of the primitive communications,^{to quote an instance} and as an instance one Shivaram Visaji came from Karmala to Poona and stayed at the latter place for four months but had to return without being able to settle the marriage.¹ In 1740 a person from Konkan borrowed some money for purchasing a pair of dhoti but nothing was heard for six months from the person he had entrusted to purchase the dhoti. The lender, therefore, had to send a reminder.² Employees of savkars made long journeys to carry remittances at stated intervals and they carried the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.³ Many times the work of runners was done by Mahars.

(iii) Political Life

The Maratha State, since the return of Shahu, consisted of two autonomous principalities governed by the Bhonsale family within the Mughal empire. Under Shahu the system of feudal nobility was introduced. The nobles managed civil, military and judicial matters within

1. DCHM 12/71

2. Ibid 12/184

3. RMW. 370.

their jagirs and paid tribute to the Chhatrapati. This system was enforced by Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa of Shahu. Shahu was compelled to grant jagirs to the Sardars because the Nizam had started doing so ^{in order to win over to his side} to the Maratha Sardars, that went over to him. After bringing the nobles under ^{system,} feudal, Shahu appointed the chief minister or Peshwa. Constitutionally, in the official order of precedence, the Peshwa was a lower functionary in the hierarchy of officials than the Pant Pratinidhi, but in practice he was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Council.¹ ^{the position} The other ministers gradually occupied ^{subordinate} to the Peshwa and the council of eight ministers receded in the background.

Along with the introduction of the feudal system in the internal administration, the Marathas had started their expansion schemes before the death of Aurangzeb. Let us have a glimpse of the Maratha campaigns of this period.

1. Campaigns.

The Maratha armies ~~had~~ spent eight months of the year exclusive of the rainy season, in campaigning in enemy country. Chimaji Appa, the brother of the Peshwa Bajirao I,

1. RMW p. 345

had been to the north at the beginning of 1733. He writes to Brahmendra Swami, " Gwalior is ten kos from here. Every-thing this side is in order on account of your blessings. The region has become desolate and the ' ryot ' have trekked beyong the river Yamuna. Not a person is to be seen in this region ". In the same year in May, Bajirao was at Rajapuri in the Konkan to chastise the Siddi. He wrote to Purandare, " It is necessary to spend huge amounts of money to get any work done. Where we were paying rupees three on the ghat, we have to pay rupees five here. We cannot predict the future. It is raining cats and dogs and the nights are dark. We fear some day we shall find ourselves in the same pitiable condition as that of the Emperor Aurangzeb at Vishalgad while he was campaigning there ".¹ From Bhopal, where the Nizam was besieged in 1737, Bajirao wrote, " Corn has become very dear. Within four days the price of flour has shot to four seers per rupee. No fodder is available for elephants and horses. Tree skins and pond scum is being fed to the horses and the elephants. Even that too has become scarce now. For the Nabob's army, retreat has become almost impossible on account of his camp followers being confined in the city. Check posts are scattered here and there. Nights are stormy due to occasional - firings on outposts. Soldiers are fed up of being compelled to stand in vigilance. Horses are starving."²

1. PPD1 103, 105, PBCL 44

2. PBCL 33.

2. State boundaries

As territories were constantly being transferred from one state to the other, boundaries of states were not fixed at the time. Balaji Vishwanath brought the titles of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi conferred on ^{the} Chhatrapati at Delhi in 1719, but most of the territory that was granted by the Imperial grants required to be wrested from the Siddi and the Nizam. The question of boundaries was very difficult in the Konkan where the states of the Portuguese, Angres, Siddis, Sawants and the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad had intermixed territories. At many places there was a double government.

(iii) Social stratification

The Maratha society of the eighteenth century was feudalistic. The king, the nobility, the peasantry, the soldiers and the slaves were the classes in which society was mainly and generally divided. The rise of the Peshwa affected Maratha social life in two ways:-

1. It destroyed the solidarity of the constitution which Shivaji's Astha Pradhan council was expected to maintain.

2. It at once created two distinct classes of Sardars in the Maratha state.

The Peshwa, like the holy Roman emperor, gradually descended to the position of the head of the confederacy whose commands were met with scant respect and whose authority was confined within the territories under his direct personal rule.¹

a) The king

Raja Shahu was the lineal descendant of Shivaji. He was also the nominal head of the Maratha State. It was he who appointed the Peshwa and the other hereditary officers of the state like the Pratinidhi, Sachiva, etc. Personally, Shahu never led the armies in the field. Though he exercised great controlling power, we at the same time find signs of defiance in the Maratha nobility of the time. Kanhoji Angre captured the fort Pal from the Siddi, but wanted to appropriate it for personal gain and would not hand it over to Shahu as he should have done, thereby endangering the very authority of the King.² Chimaji did not promptly execute the order of Shahu to proceed to the Konkan to fight against the Siddi during the Janjira war.³

1. SASM pp. 203-4

2. PBCL 328

3. RMW pp. 348-49, Duff. XV p. 252

b) The nobility

1. The Peshwa.

Originally the Peshwa was only a member of the Ashta Pradhan Council of Shivaji. His position was ' unus inter pares ' among the eight ministers of the state. His salary was less than that of the Pratinidhi. Balaji Vishwanath, by his ability and statesmanship, not only succeeded in making the post of Peshwa hereditary, but made the Peshwa's position ' primus inter pares ' in the council of ministers.¹

2. The Sardars.

The old nobility regarded the Peshwa as their equal. They obeyed him only as the deputy of the king, while the new nobility such as Shindes, Holkars and Rastes were the Peshwa's servants. They regarded the Peshwa as the master whose bread they ate and whom they were bound to serve.²

3. The indebtedness of the nobility.

It is well known that all the great Maratha leaders, including Shahu, Bajirao I and others always found it difficult to raise the funds required for their 'mulukhgiri'.³

1. SASM pp 196-197.

2. Ibid p.205

3. SPD 18/86

How hard up the Maratha nobility was due to these campaigns could best be illustrated from the glimpses of some of the campaigns of Bajirao I. About him Duff writes, " Bajirao, owing to the vast army he had kept up, both to secure his conquests and to overcome his Maratha rivals, had become greatly involved in debts. Payments to his troops were in arrears, the ~~soufcars~~ (or bankers) to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lakhs of rupees, refused to make any further advances, and he complained bitterly of the continuous mutinies and clamours in his camp, which occasioned him much vexation and distress".¹ The following extracts from Bajirao's letters to the Swami show the embarrassments under which he laboured :-

" These debts have ruined us. I feel like taking poison and dying or wish to come and sit at your feet. Why should we suffer, when you Bhargava, are looking after us? "²

" There is no way out of the debt. I wish I could abandon all this and go to some lonely place and become a sanyasi. "³

" I am rotting in the hell of the creditors. Your disciple (i.e. Bajirao himself) had been to the north. Do you know what he gained? A little success & no money. "

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1. Duff XV p. 234
 2. PBCL 32
 3. Ibid 31

" I have fallen into the hell of being beset by creditors, and to pacify soucars and sillidars, I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead."¹

Duff comments on this that part of this distress originated in the high rates of pay which he was obliged to give, in order to outbid Nizam-ul-Mulk and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery.

The plight of other Maratha sardars was as bad as that of Bajirao. . In 1738 Bajirao wrote to the Swami, " All my devotion to you seems to be futile. Either I must abandon this country or sit at home locking the doors, or devote myself to prayers."² In 1740, Malharrao Holkar wrote to the Swami, " Two years have passed in campaigning, and we have not been able to get money! We are carrying on somehow on the debts contracted."³

4. Vices of the nobility

With hereditary ' vatans ' also came vices. Maratha Sardars, who had established themselves at different places, lived as luxurious and licentious lives as their Mughal

1. PBCL ----, 32.

2. Duff XV p.234 footnote PBCL 117

3. Op.cit. ----, 171.

predecessors. Sambaji Angre had three wives and four concubines. Still he is reported to have made attempts to procure the maid-servants of Brahmendra Swami. Here is the description of Yeshwantrao Pawar given by Krishnaji Anant Tambe in his letter to Jagannathpant Bhagwat. "Yeshwantrao is not in his senses. His forts and parganas have been confiscated by the Peshwa. All the twenty-four hours of the day are spent in the company of women. He hardly attends to any business."¹ The nobility seemed to be always in need of luxuries such as velvet clothes, shoes, curtains, bedsteads of cane and ivory, perfumed oils, perfumes, rose-water, mirrors, young peacocks, fireworks, wine, tobacco, silk, almonds, walnuts, musk, saffron, dried plantains, kajus, dates, rolled cakes of jack-fruit, mangoes, and other fruit and flowers. Jagjivan Pawar, son of Maloji Pawar, was addicted to liquor. When intoxicated, he insulted and abused his own mother, Anandibai Pawar and appropriated her private wealth which she had kept at Dhanavati. Brahmendra Swami scolded him for this misbehaviour.²

1. R III - 46

2. Ibid - 53, 116, 119.

◆ PBCL 277, 170, 243, 298, 178, 183.

DCHM 20/316, 892, 629, 649, 657, 692, 693, 773, 845

902, 535, 942, 690, 976, 615, 355, 881,
712, 956,

12/1106, 1103, 186.

c) Slaves.

Under the Peshwa's rule, we always come across a mention of women slaves. On purchase, the slave became the property of her master much like chattel and was styled 'kunbin' or 'batki'. A slave could be pledged or sold either for cash or in liquidation of a debt.¹ On the master's death, his slaves formed part of the assets divisible among his heirs.² The prices the slaves fetched corresponded to the nature of the functions they could perform. A good worker would fetch somewhere between Rs.60 and Rs.100/-. They were clothed and fed sometimes much better than the free men of their standing and were allowed to possess property.³ Men and women slaves were transferable like dumb cattle from one owner to another for monetary consideration. The slaves, on the whole, appear to have been kindly treated.⁴ I present here a few instances of I collected from the Swami's correspondence.

Visajiram of Karbale asked for a kunbin aged between ten and fifteen. He suggests that if she would come willingly well and good, otherwise force should be used.⁵ In 1744,

1. Vad, Peshwa Diaries 1, Madhavrao II, p. 324.

2. GPS p.155

3. TSCV p.288

4. RMW p.368

5. DCHM 12/71

two batkis belonging to Visaji Ballal Khasnavis fled and stayed with the Swami at Dhavadshi. The Swami did not hand them over to the servants sent by Visaji Ballal for fear that the batkis would be beaten by the servants.¹ One batki was purchased from Girjoji with a contract that if there would be any trouble concerning her past life, Girjoji was to ward it off, while if there would be any enquiry from the Government, the purchaser undertook to answer it. Girjoji was asked by the government to pay a 'gunhegari' of Rs.50/-. Girjoji came to the purchaser and requested him either to help him out of this difficulty or send the 'batik' to the government. The purchaser requested the Peshwa not to fine Girjoji Rs.50 and enquired why the Peshwa objected to the transaction.²

2. Batkis of the Swami

The Swami had many batkies at Dhavadshi, and some at Gothana. He had built separate quarters for the batkis at Dhavadshi. Sekhoji Angre, Queen Sakwarbai, Malharrao Holkar and Anandrao Pawar had bestowed some batkis upon the Swami. Kavji Kadam had purchased one batki for Rs. 60 for the Swami. She was however taken away by Sambhaji Angre.³ The Swami too sometimes asked batkis from the Sardars. He

1. DCHM 12/397

2. Ibid 12/313

3. Ibid 20/905, 570,
20/694,
R.III 294

He is reported to have asked for a batki from the Thorats and Shivaji Shankar.¹ The sentiments of the people regarding a batki is illustrated in the following extract from a letter of 1745. The writer says, " Not that a batki is in herself a very valuable asset but when she is not readily available, inconvenience is caused. Once the batki is purchased, she cannot be returned."²

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1. PBCL 207, DCHM 20/925. For details see Chapter IV (iv)
 2. DCHM 12/187

d) Forced labour or " wethbegari "

Under the earlier Peshwas, the system of forced labour or ' wetha' was extensively in vogue and caused great annoyance to the poorer classes and artisans who were subjected to it. Brahmendra Swami himself utilised this system in the villages granted to him but prohibited Angres, Siddis and others from enforcing ' wethbegari ' in his villages. The ' wethas ' from Gothana and Pedha carried grocery, fruit, cloth , corn and vegetables to Dhavadshi for the Swami. Once rice flakes, cocoanuts, turmeric, etc., were to be carried to Dhavadshi, but the wethas refused to go to Dhavadshi.¹ The 'kamavisdar' of Gothana had once postponed sending the goods to the Swami for want of ' wethas ' because they were all taken away by the Angres. The commandant of the fort of Rasalgad also had to postpone sending goods to the Swami because all the ' wethas ' were carried away by the Siddi.² In 1740 a ' rokha ' (a forced extortion) of ' wethas ' was made by the Siddi in a village of the Angres in the Konkan.³ ' Wethbegari ' was nothing more than another form of a temporary slavery.

1. DCHM 12/593

2. Ibid 12/165

3. R. III 311.

(iv) Economic condition

Economically, the lot of the people was most miserable. It will be no exaggeration to say that the people of Maharashtra did not enjoy peace since the days of Hindu rule up to the coming of the British. Military campaigns were an everyday affair. As a strong central power was absent, petty officers exacted money from the ryot and harassed the masses.

1. Cesses.

In addition to the regular taxes and duties imposed by Government, there were several emergency taxes. They varied from place to place and were never simultaneously levied.¹ These cesses were known as ' patti ' and here is a description of some of them :

a) Swaripatti

This was imposed on the villages Anewadi, Virmade, and Dhavadshi by the officers of the Chhatrapati. The Pratinidhi abolished it on the Swami's request in 1728.²

1. SASM p.308

2. R. III 324.

b) Inampatti

This was an occasional cess imposed in times of exigency on the Inamdars. This appears to have been imposed by the Pratinidhi on Anewadi, Virmade and Dhavadshi. Chhatrapati Shahu abolished it in 1730.¹

c) Gharpatti

This was a house tax levied on all except Brahmins and village officers. The tax was levied by the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad on the Swami's villages Dorle and Mahalunge in 1730.²

d) Chavanpatti

Udaji Chavan of Athani had imposed this patti on Anewadi, Virmade and Dhavadshi in 1730. Udaji was a sort of an outlaw and sometimes defied even Chhatrapati Shahu and collected Chavanchauthai from many villages.³

e) Palkhipatti

This tax was levied by Shahu's men on the village

1. PCL 2

2. R.III 286

3. Op.cit. footnote.

Virmade in 1732. The Pratinidhi, to whom a complaint was lodged, could not interfere because it was Shahu's personal matter.¹

f) Sankatpatti

Sankat means either disturbance or danger. The villages Pedhe and Ambdas were always subject to the danger of Siddi's raids. The Swami's revenue collector^s levied this tax at the rate of Rs. 3/- per house. The Swami asked them in 1733 that the farmers should be exempted from half the amount.²

g) Shamal or Habshipatti

This tax was levied by the Peshwa in 1736 at Rajapuri for fear of the Siddis. It was again imposed on the villages Dorle and Mahalunge in 1767.³

h) Parshurampatti

This was a general tax on the Hindus in the Konkan proposed in 1740 by Brahmendra Swami to Chimaji Appa for the reconstruction of the Parshuram temple at Pedhe

1. PBCL 218

2. DCHM 20/918

3. Ibid 20/116. SPD 33/420

and also for religious purposes. We have no proof whether or not it was actually imposed on any part of the Konkan. Dr. Kane's article on Bhargavpatti in the BLSM. Quarterly refers to a later period, i.e., after 1784.¹

i) Karjapatti

Karja means loan. Sometimes when the normal resources of government proved inadequate for meeting financial pressure, the government levied karjapatti on all landholders inamdar included. This appears to have been levied by Shankaraji Keshav Phadke at Bassein.²

j) Angarpatti

This tax appears to have been levied in 1747 by Ramji Mahadeo (Biwalkar), the Peshwa's subhedar in the Konkan, on the village Ambdas, during Tulaji Angre's tenure against his menace to the Peshwa's territory.³

k) Miraspati

This tax was levied in 1750 on the landlords (mirasdars) by Chimaji Narayan Pant Sachiva on Malshiras.⁴

1. PBCL 146, BISMQ 23/3 p.137

2. DCHM 20/630, 135.

3. Ibid 12/417

4 Ibid 12/328

Similar cesses termed as Najarpatti, Diwanpatti, Bhale-patti, Bhikarpatti, Santoshpatti, etc. are found mentioned in the studies of the Peshwa period such as Chaphekar's 'Peshwaichya Savlit'

2. Rokhas.

Along with these 'pattis', there were other emergent exactions. These were known as 'rokhas'. The nature of these 'rokhas' exactions differed from time to time with the needs of the particular administration concerned. Here is a list of some 'rokhas' imposed on some of the villages of the Swami:-

| <u>Rokha.</u> | <u>Village.</u> | <u>Imposing Authority</u> | <u>Year.</u> | <u>Reference</u> |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1 Of men | Pedha | The Siddi | 1728 | DCHM 12/3 |
| 2 Of cocoanut branches, ropes & oil | Dorle & Mahalunge | " | 1730 | DCHM 20/1233 |
| 3 Of Rs.130/- | " | Antaji Shivdeo | - | R.III 269 |
| 4 Of forced labour | Pedhe | The Siddi | 1740 | R.III 311 |
| 5 Of Rs.8/- | Dorle & Mahalunge | " " | 1744 | PBCL 329 |
| 6 Of Nadgaudi | Virmade | | 1744 | DCHM 20/678 |
| This tax was a sort of miraspatti.* | | | | |
| 7 Of the goat to be sacrificed on Vijayadashami | Virmade | Kamavisdar of Karad | 1750 | DCHM 12/25 |

* Cf. CPS pp 21-22, SASM pp. 308-311

* See supra 'h'

3. Draughts and famines.

Being harassed by military campaigns, the villagers many times deserted their villages and farms. During 1730-33, the villagers of Pedhe and Ambdas fled due to some cases of kidnapping by the Siddi. The villages of Dorle and Mahalunge were similarly deserted in 1733. In 1750 the village Ravdi was despoiled and was, therefore, deserted.¹

To these man-made miseries were added occasional draughts and famines. "No great famine," writes Ranade, "is recorded during this period, though partial famines are frequently mentioned."² Sambhaji Angre writes to the Swami in 1737, "No produce has been available to us this year. The region has become desolate."³ One person wrote in 1780, "For want of rain, our lot is miserable. We have eight horses. We are purchasing fodder at the rate of two rupees per sheaf. Still it is not available. Cattle are being starved to death."⁴ In 1745 at Malshiras there was no rain and the price of the corn had risen to 2 pailies per rupee. The cattle were starving because there was no

1. DCHM 12/340, 20/766, PBCL 248.

2. RMW p.361

3. R.III 275

4. DCHM 12/228

महाराजा

grass.¹ Complaints of dearness and distress (व्यापारादि विषय) are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the period. Famines and draughts encouraged thefts.²

The economic condition of the people at the time will be best illustrated by an extract from a letter written in 1780. The writer says, " We have simply to watch what days are in store for us in future. Today has passed, with difficulty. What would tomorrow bring us? It is the essence of the time that it favours those who get their wages. The time is however ruthless to us - the poor. We have to count hours and minutes. Who can be confident about the future?"³ This picture should be compared with the present society described by Laski. ' In our capitalistic society the rich get richer every day, and the poor poorer.'⁴

4. Building works.

There was no regular Public Works Department at the time. Works of public utility were carried out with munificent donations by philanthropic people. People spent on temples which were public works of that time. It was believed that

1. DCHM 12/402

2. Ibid 12/134, 153, 161, 162, 184, 261, 308, 314, 631, 633, 454, 38, 232.

3. Op.cit. 12/236, 108.

4. Laski Grammar of Politics. Chap III

5. PBCL 969

in Kaliyuga, whoever instituted religious shrines would have infinite merit awarded to him.¹ Brahmendra Swami had built many temples, tanks, wells and ghats, spending nearly 20 lacs of rupees.² Those working in stone-quarries and as stone cutters were then important skilled workers and there was a great demand for them. Their tools like the sledge hammer, 'adu' (big nail for breaking stones) hoe and pickaxe were prized tools. Viroobai asked the Swami for stone cutters for building a well at Nimb. The Siddi sent eighteen rupees to the Swami for purchasing an "adu" and asked that stone cutters from Satara might be sent to him.³ The coal burner (^{char}lonari) was also an essential worker. Bricks were usually made by him. The collection and preparation of necessary articles for building works was generally termed as 'karkhana'. Brahmendra Swami carried on building works at different places and needed wood for fuel required for making bricks. Antaji Shivdeo had permitted the Swami to cut wood from the jungle near the village Mahdure.⁴ Buildings in those days were - constructed mainly of earth, bricks, lime and timber and iron was very rarely used.⁵ The cost of bricks varied

1. PBCL 309.

2. DCHM 20/832

3. R. III 17, PBC. pp.29-30. DCHM 20/177,733.

4. DCHM 12/630,570,588.

5. Ibid. 20/862,865.

from 2½ rupees to 3½ rupees per thousand. The Swami issued detailed instructions for carrying out the reconstruction of the Bhuleshwar temple at Yawat and the big well (barwai) at Malshiras to his servant ~~Balkhanda~~ ¹ Havaldar. Balkhanda was ordered to make the bigger peak (shikhar) aesthetic and keep the other two plain.¹ With lime, bricks, coal, sand and rafters, iron, joggery gum, flax and catechu were also required for building purposes.²

5. Money market.

The savkars, or indigenous money lenders, were the bankers of the period. Vanavle, Babuji Naik Baramatikar Angal, Antaji Naik Gunde were the famous savkars of the time. They carried on their business in the north and south and had branches at different places. Brahmendra Swami, though regarding himself as a saint, carried on usury and advanced sums to the Peshwas, the queens and Maratha sardars. He imprisoned his debtors and harassed them for his dues. The Swami made extensive use of hundies also.³ The rate of discount charged by Antaji Naik Gunde on hundies was 5%. Naro Ballal received a hundi from Aurangabad in the name of Chimnajipant Bhagwat for a sum of Rs.200 sent by the Swami. Naro Ballal wrote 'recorded the sum on the back of the hundi and handed it over along with Rs.200/- to the man who brought it.'⁴

1. DCHM 20/865 For details see Chap IV (i) 2 R-II 34

4. Ibid 20/654, PBCL 189. 3 For details of the Swami's pecuniary affairs see Chap IV (iv)

6. Employment of Foreigners.

Foreign traders and artisans were encouraged to settle in the Maratha state. 'Firangis' that is, Europeans generally, were given appointments such as those of gunners¹ and Christian artisans from Goa were employed on building work, from which it seems that they were more efficient and had higher engineering skill than local artisans. At Parshuram, quarters are shown today about a mile from the Shrine which were then occupied by the Christians² employed by Brahmendra Swami for the reconstruction of the Parshuram temple. At Gothana, a circular platform round the base of the pipal tree (par) was built by Goanese masons.² For building the tank at Triputi near Satara, the Swami spent 1 lac of rupees and artisans from Vrindavan were specially obtained for the construction of this tank.³ Firangis, most probably⁴ Portuguese, were experts in cane work. The Swami's bedstead of cane was spoiled by rats, and to get it repaired, he asked Sambhaji Angre whether^{the} Firangis knowing cane work were available.⁴

1. SPD 22/78.

2. DCHM 12/620

3. Ibid 12/264

4. R. III 276.

7. Encouragement to traders and merchants

It is said that the silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely the result of the encouragement given to outside settlers from Barhanpur, Paithan and other towns to come and live under the Peshwa's protection on sites which were granted free to them. Merchants were encouraged to open shops in large towns with the help of Government advances,¹ and even Brahmendra Swami advanced loans to merchants. The merchants Sadashiva and Bhawanidas from Goa were given a capital of five hundred rupees by the Swami to start business at Satara which was then a good market place.² Govindji Madhavji, a merchant from Harnai, had been advanced a sum by the Swami to be invested in trade.³ At Poornagad, when the idol of Ganapati was installed the Ganapati was painted by the goldsmith. The Swami's servant suggested to him that the goldsmith should be presented cloth worth Rs.2/-.⁴

8. The flora.

in the Peshwa's times,

Though there were no public parks, there were several

1. RMW p.372
2. PBCL 373.
3. DCHM 12/30, 39.
4. Ibid 12/158

private gardens and orchards. The Swami was a true lover of the new much heard of ~~Vanamahotsava~~, and was interested in horticulture. He had his gardens at Gothana, Ambdas, Virmade, Anewadi, Malshiras and Dhavadshi. Naga champak and bananas were planted at Anewadi, madanbari, jai and mango at Dhavadshi, and sonchafa, surangi and red agasta at Gothana.¹

9. Fruit and vegetables.

The Swami needed vegetables and fruit which he secured from his devotees on demand. We find succulent roots, kon, carindas, mangoostana chillies, banana blossoms shevga, pumpion gourds, ground nuts, etc., mentioned in his letters. Among fruits, mangoes of the Goanese and Bansod variety were much in demand^{ed} by the Swami. In addition, pomegranates, sweet limes, coconuts, pineapples, grapes, bullocks heart, figs, bhokars, tender cocoanuts, water melons, guavas, citrons, musk melons used to be obtained by the Swami.²

10. Grocery, corn, paper, weights, etc.

Reference to the following articles of grocery is

1. DCHM 20/839, 841

2. See Chap.V 'The Swami's Demands on his Followers.'

found in the correspondence :- groundnut, ginger, pepper, joggery, ghee, cloves, nutmeg, garlic, betelnut, cardamom, asafetida, etc. These were secured by the Swami from his devotees. The varieties of sugar he obtained were raypuri, bura and nahad. The varieties of rice were varangali and dabholi.¹

Brahmendra Swami ordered the following types of paper from the Angres :- i. Daulatabadi, ii. Chinese and iii. Goanese.²

11. Prices and Wages.

(a) Prices.

A bucket (mot) of water from
a bullock-draw well. ... Rs. 8½

Bricks Rs. 2½ to 3½ per thousand.

Coral necklace Rs. 50.

Pearls. Rs. 1 t_h 2 each.

Gold Rs. 15 per tola.

Emerald Rs. 13.

Red stone (Chuni) Rs. 3/-

1. R. III 177, DCHM 20/998, 1002

2. DCHM 20/592

Mohor Rs. 14.
 Ghee Rs. 10/- per maund.
 Joggery Rs. 10/- per maund.
 Plantains Rs. 1 for 500
 Pedhas (sweet) Rs. 1 for 2½ seers .
 Tobacco Rs. 1 for 6 seers.
 Bullock from Rs. 80 to Rs. 300.
 Cow Rs. 9 each.
 Buffalo Rs. 30 each.
 Patavs. (Silk garment for men) Rs. 25 to 60.
 Mugta (Silk sacred garment for ladies) Rs. 9½ each.
 Nagpuri sari (10 yds.)Rs. 8½
 Lal chandrakala (Sari) Rs. 8½
 Lal rasta (sari with geometrical designs) Rs. 8½
 Dhoti Rs. 1½ per pair
 Patal (sari 10 yds) Rs. 1½
 Mundase (turban) Rs. 1½
 Susi (kind of fine cloth) Rs. 19½
 Pasodi Ghiti (rug) Rs. 6
 Lal tivat sapkaki¹ (a kind of cloth) Rs. 8

1. DCHM 20/620, 629, 1002, 956, 1004, 615, 976, 1005, 1011
 1019, 734, 865; 12/330, 323, 68, 1016, 117,
 258, 860, 480, 182, 419, 413, 1113; PBCL 183,
 167, 274, 279; R.iii 87, 117.

In addition, we come across other varieties of cloths such as pasmi dulai (woolen covering sheets) , yellow, green and red (lakhi) broadcloth, ^{तेजी} mahamudi, velvet curtains, shawls, gold-lined coverlets asthagoli, khaskasi shelas, dushalas, Bengali taptas etc.¹

Wages.

The following rates of wages have been found to be prevailing at the time:-

1. Stone cutters Rs. 7½ per month.
2. Servant Rs. 2½ per month
3. Archer Rs. 2½ to 7 per month.
4. Scribe Rs. 5 per month.
5. Domestic servant Rs. 2½ + rations.²

12. Medicines.

The Maratha Government under the Peshwas encouraged the study of medicine by the grant of Inam lands to eminent physicians.³ When the Swami came to Dhavadshi,

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1. PBCL 277, 170, 243, 298, 178, 183, DCHM 20/629, 183, 247, 304, 316, 612, 892.
 2. DCHM 20/540, 597, 12/901, 899, 22, 410.
 3. SASM p. 472

he asked for medical treatment from several people on account of weakness due to his age. The following information regarding ^{the} treatment of various maladies has been culled from the Swami's correspondence.

The Swami has always demanded honey from his devotees Stores for a long period as old honey was considered a tonic while fresh honey was useful for reducing flesh. Ghee was another article required by the Swami and it was said that the older the ghee, the more useful it was as a healer of wounds and was called ' vranaropana '. The following is a list of other remedial preparation used by the Swami.

Shilaras - Useful for stone in the kidney, cough and skin diseases; also as tonic.

Nigdel oil- Prepared, from the plant of nigadi. Useful for swellings, rheumatic pain and gout.

Narayan - Extracted from the ' shatavari ' plant (Asparagus Race mosus) and mixed with other plant. Excellent for massage and strengthening the nerves and muscles of the body. The Swami always demands large quantities of this oil.

Kinknel - Useful for massage.
oil

Ivory - Remedy for leucoderma

- Hemagarbha - A very costly medicine prepared from mercury, sulphur and gold. A stimulant for a person on the verge of death.
Also useful as a tonic.
- Mineral salt - (sendhelon) Useful for disease of the eye and for the removal of bad odours.
- Sandherukh - Useful for fractures in which pieces are tied.
- Maharukh - Remedy for gases, fever and cholera.¹
(Cinnamomum
Tomentosum)

The following have also been found mentioned in the letters for treatment of physical disorders - hingool, (gugula), sandalwood, musk, pearls, nigra (dhotra) pomegranate, succulent roots, mace, nutmeg, asafe tida, and cow's urine. The use of leeches was then in vogue and Swami once sent leeches to Bajirao Peshwa who had asked for them.²

(v) Social conditions.

i. Religious beliefs.

Maratha society of the eighteenth century, along with

1. Y.G.Joshi - Vanoushadhi Gunadarsha Part VI.1920, p.9.
 2. SPD. 9/22. DCHM 20/932, 933, 644, 712, 748, 687, 537, 599, 600, 618, 882, 634, 714, 727; 12/186, 575, 637, 341, 902.
- R.III 322, 353, 319, 271, 181, 248, 252,
327, 353, 283, 120, 261, 328, 275,
4, 41, 351.

Indian society in general was essentially religious minded.

They held the four-fold system of " Chaturvarnya" to be the foundation of society. Brahmins were held in high esteem, for their knowledge and high moral character. They were exempted from capital punishment.

Manu had prescribed six duties for the Brahmin. Studying, teaching, making sacrifices, officiating at a sacrifice, alms giving and alms receiving.¹ We find, therefore, people making yajnas, performing rites of maharudra, - atirudra, anusthanas, samaradhana, archya, abhisheka, etc. to Shiva. The Swami had performed these rites for the Peshwas and the Angres.² In 1742, ^a somayag was ^{performed} by Shankar Bhat Godbole in Shanwarpeth in Poona. The Swami once suggested a unique ' homa ' of nutmeg, mace and pepper to be performed ^{to} the Peshwa, for the shrine of Meruling near Dhavadshi, and had demanded three khandis of sesamum for an ' anusthana ' from Sambaji Angre.³

The blessings of saints were sought after for commencing important projects. Chimaji appa sought the blessings of the Swami before his Bassein campaign and Bajirao took the advice of a saint before interviewing the Nizam.⁴ A disciple of the Shankaracharya of -

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1. Manu 10;74
 2. PBCL 131,164.
 3. R.III 269, 272.
 4. R. VI pp 49,54.

Shringeri had come to Dhavadshi. All the Brahmins and the Swami's assistants, Chimaji Pant and Dhondo Pant were asked to accord a welcome to the disciple.¹ The Swami had once ordered an "anusthana" to be performed at - Dhavadshi. He instructed his assistants that the Telangi Brahmins, if they come without an invitation, should be treated well, but they should not be given a special invitation. He also gave instructions that daxina should be given to them. ^{Though the in general} ~~Brahmins~~ were then held in high esteem, ~~the~~ people appear to be ~~looking down upon~~ Telangi Brahmins with scant respect. The reason perhaps was their un-civic behaviour in rushing wherever there was a religious ceremony for getting sumptuous dinner and daxina. Babdebhath Athley the well known Brahmin priest hailed from Ratnagiri district, and had established himself at Satara. It is said he had been to Kashi and had even been a priest there. He was requested by the Swami for an 'anusthana' to be made at Gothana. A piece of gold was kept under the image of Parshuram as was the custom at the time. A 'daxina' of rupee one per Brahmin was given to fifty Brahmins. A grand feast was given to the Brahmins and to all the villagers.²

1. DCHM 12/357

2. Ibid 12/626, 20/862. SPD 9/17,25;

ii. Customs and beliefs.

Social customs are regarded as important pillars of the society. Even today law and politics take into consideration past traditions and customs. Belief in good and bad omens and prophecies was common to all classes in the early eighteenth century. These beliefs survive to a great extent even today. We come across several such references in the correspondence. It was believed that when two marriages or holy ceremonies took place in a family in one year, a third should not be resorted to. ^{and the same} This custom prevails even today.¹ For proceeding to Raygad, an astrologer was first consulted for an auspicious starting time.² Bathing with the family in the river or at the confluence of two rivers was regarded as an act of ^{religious} merit.³

People had implicit faith in the efficacy of vows to Gods. Brahmendra Swami sat on burs (thorns) at Jejuri in order to prevail upon God that it might rain.⁴ He had also vowed to God for the release of Tulaji

1. DCHM 12/121.
2. Ibid 12/1085.
3. Ibid 12/430
4. PBCL 304.

from Peshwa's captivity and if Tulaji would be released to give thirty gold pieces to God in 1740. This shows that notwithstanding his acrimonious relations with the Angres the Swami had a soft corner for the members of the Angre family in general. He had once prayed for the good health of Chimaji when the latter was not well.¹ There are many other instances of vows made to Gods.²

It was then a world of childlike credulity. Men believed in evil spirits and agencies. Society does not seem to have changed very much today as we find the same ideas prevailing in men's minds. Villagers believed that evil doers exercised evil spirits to ruin their enemies. They also believed in spells and witchcraft. Sambhaji Angre felt that Raghunath Hari (Gupte) had killed Kanhoji and Sekhoji Angre by means of witchcraft.³ When Sekhoji Angre was seriously ill, all believed that he was haunted by a ghost.⁴ Raghunath Hari had some physical trouble for which he was advised by the Swami to visit

1. PBCL 311.

2. DCHM 12/154, 412.

3. PBC p.71

4. SPD 3/75.

the shrine of Bhargavram at Gothana.¹ One person referred to as Baba had fever. It was thought to be due to the disturbance of Martand (Khandoba). When a vow was taken by Baba that he would go to Martand after the Dasera, he immediately began to recover. This shows that people valued superstition more than medicinal cures, in those days. Some ornaments of Baba happened to be stolen. A prayer was said by Baba to God Khandoba who conveyed through him that the ornaments would be recovered before the next "amavasya" and if the person who had taken the ornaments did not return them, he would immediately die.² A man had a painful stomachache and he thought that it was due to some ghost or goblin. At Gothana, Chag and his wife were haunted by ghosts. When they were taken to an exorcist, he told them that the two ghosts were set by other exorcist (bhagat) while one of the ghosts belonged to Ghanekar, a dead person. The writer of this letter requested the Swami to drive out these spirits. However, there is nothing to show that the Swami succeeded on helping him out of the difficulty.³

In Kanhoji Angre's districts, one Sambhaji Dhod's bullock died by an accident. Sambhaji was, therefore, sent to Kanhoji for a 'praischitta' (religious penance), (सामाजिक).

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1. DCHM 20/645
 2. Ibid 12/284
 3. DCHM 12/573, 651.

In the fort of Kohaj in the Konkan, a Brahmin was killed in a scuffle amongst the residents of the fort, and the commandant of the fort, Hiroji Phasalkar, was accused of the crime and dismissed because killing a Brahmin was considered a heinous crime. Pilaji Jadhav pleaded with Bajirao that Shankaraji Keshava and others who were in the fort were also involved in the Brahmin's murder and requested Bajirao to reconsider the case.¹

The Swami had kept Balaji Hari Anturkar for the management of the estate at Dhavadshi. He was, however, removed from his post on a charge of dishonesty and Antaji Narayan Bhagwat was kept in his place. Anturkar, therefore, is reported to have set ghosts on Antaji with a view to punish him. When the Swami was informed of this, he consulted the oracle and asked Sambhaji Shinde, the - commandant of Rasalgad, to take the counsel of the Goddess in the fort. The Goddess confirmed what was told by the village deity of Dhavadshi.

When the Swami left Parshuram for Dhavadshi, he kept en route the wooden sandals (padukas) of Bhargavram at Rasalgad. The officer in charge of the fort, Sambhaji Shinde, began the worship of the "padukas". This, however, was disliked by the local deity of Rasalgad. A dispute

arose and the deity hurled down calamities on the fort. When the worship (puja) began, the son of Ganoji Patil died. On the Vijayadashmi day the "padukas" were taken in procession outside the village and a boy died accidentally when a gun was fired on the occasion. The Goddess was asked ^{to explain} the reason for these deaths and the reply was that these troubles were due to her disapproval of the worship of the "padukas". Immediately after, a lightening struck the granary ^{killing} Raghopant instantaneously. The residents of the fort were also taken ill, one of them being Khandoji Salvi, the Swami's servant who had casually come there, ~~was made sick~~. It was believed that his illness was due to the commission of some offence by him against the Goddess.¹

Ambaji Patil of Dhavadshi is reported to have set two of his ghosts in the house of Bhagwat, the Swami's assistant. The Swami, in order to save the house from being destroyed, shifted to the riverside. He asked Yamaji Shivdeo to send ten horsemen to protect the house. The Swami complained to Chhatrapati Shahu about the mischief.²

1. DCHM 20/1078, 1088, PBC. pp. 114-115.

2. PBC pp. 113-114. PBCL 1.

(vi) Administration of justice.

Civil litigation was chiefly confined to 'vatan' partition and boundary disputes and other cases of a like character. The institution of 'vatan' held powerful sway over eighteenth century Maharashtra. Community, customs and vatan were the main pillars upon which the society was then firmly grounded.¹

There were no prescribed laws and people felt no necessity for them. It is strange that even in the absence of laws judges were appointed in the Maratha State^{to carry on judicial matters.} Public opinion and custom decided whether a particular act was just or unjust. Civil offences such as not paying off a debt and criminal offences such as theft were met with more or less the same punishment.

There was no order of priority for asking justice. Justice could be had for anything, even for abstract things such as honour, and setting of ghosts for evil purposes. Decisions could be revised and there was no time limit in the matter of evidence. Once in a border dispute, papers for the proceeding seventy five years were demanded as evidence.

1. BISMQ Vol. XXX-XXXI p.7

There was no court fee and there were no pleaders. Prisoners were given facilities and protection was give to witnesses.¹

The Panchayat system was favoured by the Peshwas. It was continued till the end of the 18th century.²

An accused committed to trial for offences against person or property or morals had to go through the royal , or religions, or spiritual, or caste punishment; which were often of a social nature. A person committing a heinous offence was excommunicated by his caste men and punished with imprisonment or fine by the State.³

Judgement chiefly rested on the evidence of the witnesses on both sides, who were examined under the sanction of the strictest oaths. The witness's testimony was first recorded and then the men were called upon to choose their arbitrators from their own or neighbouring villages. In very rare cases, where no evidence could be secured, recourse was had to trial by ordeal and the decision then

1. TSCV pp.39-44.

2. GJSM pp.126, 127.

3. Ibid pp. 128, 129.

of the ordeal.

depended upon the result. In some cases bathing in a river was considered sufficient to arrive at the judgment of facts. There was thus every chance for a genuine offender escaping punishment.

Litigation about 'vatan'.

i) In 1811, a dispute arose between two brothers Krishna and Vishnu Bhatji for their hereditary vatan of 'agnihotra' (of about Rs.15/- per month). The Brahmins gave the decision in favour of Krishna Dixit.¹ A similar dispute had arisen between two public astrologers for their vatan of 'jyotishi' in the villages Virmade, Udtare and -
Kalambhe.²

ii) In 1744, Ganga Teli, an oilman of Dhavadshi, purchased a bullock from a farmer of the village Lengare, which, however, was claimed by the commandant of fort Nandgiri. Ganga Teli went to the farmer and asked him to prove his ownership. The Swami took the statements of both the claimants and referred the case to Moropant, the Chhatrapati's officer.³

iii) In 1721, at Mouje Saygaon, the vatan of Patilki was

1 DCHM 12/124

2 Ibid 12/456

3 Ibid 20/887

being contested by Malharji Mali and Bahirji Mali. Bahirji was asked to give evidence by standing in the river Krishna.¹ At Gothana in 1733, two persons quarreled over the husbandry. The arbitrators from the temple gave the decision.²

iv) An interesting case at Gothana was reported in 1744. Antashet Teli's buffalo got into the field of Mahadeo Shevda. Mahadeo's mother pelted the buffalo with stones. The buffalo died and Shevda was fined for the offence.³

v) In a dispute regarding vatan between Sekhoji parit and Khandoji parit, both were asked to enter the river Krishna by the villagers.⁴

vi) In 1722 Kumbhar (potter) Gana from Parshuram had gone to Talavthi on some business. He stayed with Mahadaji Divta. At night he went to Lakhma Bhagti's house to ask for water. Sidoji Chavan who was sitting there suddenly caught hold of Gana and tied him with a rope. His earring and silver belt round his waist were taken by Sidoji. The

1. DCHM 12/122

2. Ibid 12/660

3. Ibid 12/596, 658

4. R.III 55.

commandant of fort Rasalgad was asked by Brahmendra Swami to investigate the matter.¹

vii) The Swami's men were building a well at Tathvda near Phaltan. His men, the clerk, the Havaldar and the masons played mischief with the villagers. They did not allow the Brahmin women to take water from the well and broke their earthen pots^{and abused them.} The shudras brought water from distant places. The Brahmins from Tathwada, therefore, jointly appealed to the Swami. The Swami wrote a sharp note to Ramaji Ganesh, his clerk.

" I had asked you to allow everybody to take water from the well. Don't prohibit anybody from taking the water. You have abused Brahmin women and have broken their pots. You have spoiled my reputation and this news will now reach Satara. Allow those women to use the well and don't abuse them^{again.} Give them plenty of water and make them happy."²

This shows that the Brahmins were not/a favoured class under the Peshwas.

Robbery.

The punishment for robbery generally was fine or imprisonment. In civil cases the fines ~~were~~ paid by the

1. DCHM 12/166.

2. Ibid 20/908

successful suitor and his defeated antagonist were repeatedly called ' Harki ' and ' Gunhegari '. Instances of thefts are scattered all over the correspondence. Mangoes, - jackfruit and other fruit from Gothana were reported to have been stolen in 1740. In 1760, Gopal Anant reported a theft of mangoes at Mahuli because there was no watchman.¹ In 1732, Brahmendra Swami complained to Sekhoji Angre that the commandant of fort Poornagad stole jackfruit from Mahalunge. Sekhoji, therefore, giving due respect to the Swami's word dismissed the commandant.² In 1804, a " gunhegari " of Rs. 5 was taken from one Govinda Mali of Dhavadshi for stealing grain.³ The Swami cudgelled the servant of Bawaji Shivdeo for stealing pearls, rug and turban and put him in stocks and got one side of his mustache shaved.⁴ Stealing of grass was also common. The villagers of Kidgaon and Raygaon were warned by Peshwa's men for cutting grass in the pastures of Sulp^uani.⁵

An interesting case from Malshiras is on record. Sadashivrao Bhau arrested Bahiru Berad because he was -

1. DCHM 12/159, 132.

2. R.III 244

3. Op.cit. 12/220

4. DCHM 20/652

5. Ibid 12/948

suspected of theft though he was one of the village officers (balutedars). Being harassed by ^{his} thefts ~~by him~~ in the village, the populace of Malshiras had fled from the village. Bhau intimated this to the Swami and stated that Bahiru should be punished. The Swami wrote back to Bhau that it was not Bahiru but the " berads " from Purandhar who were the real culprits. The Swami further stated that Bahiru was not the balutedar. The fine of rupees five levied on Bahiru was, therefore, returned by Bhau to the Swami. Bhau again wrote to the Swami that if what Bahiru told the Swami was true, he should help the Government in catching the real culprit. Then only his innocence would be proved. It appears that Bahiru then went to Satara and was fined Rs.50 by Prince Fatesing. The Swami afterwards made efforts through Viroobai to recover the amount of Rs.50 from Prince Fatesing. Viroobai, ^{with the Swami's request.} however, flatly refused to comply.¹

(vii) Social life.

i) Education.

" The Peshwas", writes Sen " did not organise any department like the postal department for public instruction. Learning was encouraged only indirectly."² From the

1. DCHM 20/867, 1006, 195.

2. SASM p. 471

correspondence in the Dhavadshi daftars, it appears that people generally were taught the three r's. Even ladies belonging to the families of the Chhatrapati, the Peshwa, Angre, Pawar, Bhonsle, Nimbalkar, Jadhav, etc., sometimes got their letters written through their clerks. Some of them knew reading and writing. Horse riding and the use of arms with a knowledge of the three r's was considered to be sufficient education at the time. Pulpit preaching and homilies spread the knowledge of the ' puranas ' and the epics Ramayana and Mahabharat. Brahmendra Swami used to listen to the ' purana ' recited by Jagannath Chinnaji.¹ Allusions from the ' puranas ', Ramayana and Mahabharata are spread all over his correspondence. Kanhoji Angre and his sons seemed to be quite conversant with Sanskrit.^{as} The language of their letters is forcible and idiomatic. From their letters they appear to be a cultured family.²

ii) Marriages.

For marriages, the bride's age was generally between eight and ten years and the bridegroom's age between ten and fifteen years.³ The bride's appearance hardly counted.

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1. PBCL 274.
 2. DCHM 12/1065
 3. SPD 18/46

Sambhaji Angre requested the Swami to find out a good bride for Tulaji Angre. The father of the bride, Sambhaji - insisted, should be a well known man with good family traditions.¹ For Manaji's daughter, Baya, a bridegroom who would be a good match, not too old and sensible was being looked out for.² An instance of informal marriage - 'Muhurta vivaha' - against the 'Shastra vivaha' has been cited in the correspondence.³ Sona Rangari (dyer) from Malshiras, owed Rs.108 to Brahmendra Swami. The Rangari died and his wife remarried one Sambhoo Waikar who was ignorant of the Swami's debt. The Swami asked - Sadashivrao Bhau (Bausahab) to recover the loan from Sambha's wife. After investigation, it was revealed that Sona had two wives. One of 'muhurta vivaha' and the other of 'shastra vivaha'. The arbitrators (panchas) gave the decision that both the wives of Sona should pay off the Swami's debt.⁴ A cobbler (chambhar) from Banegaon died and his wife was asked by the gotra (community) to remarry.

1. R.III 267.

2. Ibid 304.

3. The word 'informal' marriage' for 'muhurta vivaha' used by Sen, does not appear to be appropriate here. 'Muhurta Vivaha' is the re-marriage of a widow. It is generally known as 'pat-vivaha', which is defined as a second and inferior sort of marriage especially among the widows of the lower classes. SASM p.410 ; GJSM p. xxvi.

4. DCHM 20/972

She was compelled to marry one Deva Chambhar from Chinchwad but it was later discovered that her former husband, Narsa, was alive. Narsa was sent to her with a policeman and the village officers were asked to hand over Narsa's wife to Narsa. Deva was fined Rs.30¹. The sentiments of the people regarding marriages could best be illustrated by the following extract from a letter from one Trimbak Krishna Moghe of Gothana to the Swami :- "The marriage was performed satisfactorily. We searched for a grown up bride. But she was nowhere available. Few days remained and our object, we thought, might remain unfulfilled. We did not go elsewhere. You had suggested Shahne's daughter. We immediately settled the marriage with her. Shahane was trying elsewhere. Had we come four days late, we would have missed our aim. We came in the nick of time."²

3. Adultery.

For adultery in the case of women, the punishment was imprisonment with penal servitude in the forts or in the kothis, i.e., state stores, where they were made to grind corn. In the case of men, it was imprisonment or fine. At Pimpri in 1800, Moro Malhar Kulkarni had

1. DCHM 12/1050

2. Ibid 20/619

illicit relations with the daughter-in-law of Ranoji

Theurkar. They were caught during the commission of the crime and were asked to undergo the ordeal of hot ball or enter the water of the river Krishna and Kulkarni was asked to pay the 'gunhegari' of Rs.1000.¹ At Malshiras in 1742 Godi Kolin and Makhdum a Mohammedan were being watched by Mahima Mhar. They went out at odd hours and were caught together during the commission of the crime in the garden-land of Baji Patil near the well. Makhdum managed his escape but Godi was arrested. The "kamavisdaf" being absent, his wife carried out the preliminary enquiries and Godi confessed her offence.²

In 1740, Mohi, the wife of a cobbler, was charged with adultery and she was asked to undergo the ordeal. The permission for the ordeal had been given by Bajirao Peshwa's mother, Radhabai. After the ordeal was over successfully, the undamaged hands of Mohi were inspected thus (Mohi's) by Radhabai and her innocence was proved.³

In 1741, Mahimaji was confined in stocks for adultery. In the same year a 'berad' was put to death for cohabiting with the wife of a farmer.⁴ Babseth Teli from Mouje Padhne

1. ~~in~~ DCHM 12/380.

2. Ibid 20/895

3. R.VI p.37

4. Ibid pp. 42,45.

submitted a statement to the Swami that his wife was not prepared to stay with him. She ran away to Satara and stayed (the latter's) with Rama Gholap; so Babseth renounced his claim on her and requested the Swami to employ her in his stores.¹

(iv) Sati.

In the eighteenth century, it appears, sometimes wives of the Maratha nobility performed the rite of 'Sati'. In August 1733, Sekhoji Angre died. His wife Anandibai and three concubines burnt themselves at Sekhoji's funeral pyre.² His brother, Sambhaji died on 12th January 1742. His wife Girjabai, two other wives, four concubines, and three maid servants died with him by imolating themselves.³ We are reminded here of the ancient custom of burying alive the king's retinue, including maid servants, in Sumeria at Ur five thousand years ago. Chimajiappa's wife, Annapurnabai, when not more than twenty years old, died as a 'Sati' in December 1740 at Poona.⁴ In 1750, Moro Krishna Deorukhe's wife and in 1733 Dadoba Pratinishi's wife performed 'Sati'.⁵

1. DCHM 20/544

2. SPD 3/78

3. SMR CSPB p.390

4. Ibid p.400

5. R. VI pp. 67, 75.

(v) Rumours.

On account of the difficulty in communication, especially where fighting was in progress, there was full scope for rumours to float about. During the Janjira campaign in May 1733, Siddi Rahiyan attacked Bajirao before the gate of the Janjira fort. Rahiyan was killed with hundred soldiers and one Siddi sardar was captured. A rumour spread that Bajirao captured Janjira by scaling the walls by means of ladders. There were even rejoicings and felicitations in Satara.¹ Another rumour during the Janjira war was about the capture of Anjanwel. The fort of Anjanwel was, as a matter of fact, not captured by the Marathas until January 1745, but a rumour had spread at the time that Anjanwel capitulated ^{to the Marathas}. Even Rajwade was misled by this rumour and thought that Anjanwel fell in 1735.²

(vi) Bribery and corruption.

In the eighteenth century, corruption was rampant among the Maratha nobility. They were always ready to sell their sword³ for a price. In administration and justice there was corruption. A dispute was going on between Anant Prabhu and Krishnambhat Desai in the court of Satara about their ancestral vatan. The decision went against Anant Prabhu.

1. PBCL 358

2. R. III Pr. p. 169

He told Kanhoji that Shripattrao Pratinidhi and Govindrayaji (Chitnis) accepted a bribe and the decision was, therefore, given in Krishnambhat's favour. Sayaji Kanoje, son of Dattaji, was appointed at Mahipatgad by Shrinivasrao - Pratinidhi through Yamaji Shivdeo. Bapuji Kadam paid Rs.500 to Yamaji and got Sayaji removed from that post with a promise to get himself appointed. The Swami asked the Peshwa to appoint him elsewhere. Bajirao Peshwa secretly negotiated with the Siddi during the Janjira war. Sambha ji and Manaji Angre used sometimes to ally with the enemies.¹

The eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century saw a change in Maharashtra Brahmanism revived itself and 'bhakti-marga' became more important than 'karma-kanda'. Ritualism and orthodoxy also came into prominence. The seventeenth century people were simpler in their habits of living while those of the eighteenth century became/more luxurious and easy going. ~~Seventeenth~~ century soldiers had to face the ablest of Mughal emperors and their imperial army, while in the eighteenth century, the Mughals and other enemies of the Marathas were not as ~~as their predecessors~~ offensive/and the Marathas began to count in Indian politics. In administrative matters, Shivaji's state was far superior to that of the Peshwas. On account of the ascendancy of

1. PBCL 289, 369. SPD 33/147. 3/169.

especially the Chitpavans

the Peshwa, Brahmins/in considerable numbers occupied high military and civil posts . We find more women coming forward in politics in the eighteenth century. Tarabai Bhonsle Mathurabai and Laxmibai Angre, Radhabai Peshwe, Hansai Jadhav, Viroobai, Sagunabai and Sakwarbai Bhonsale, Radhabai Bhonsale, Kashibai Bhonsale, Umabai Dabhade were prominent in the politics of their days. With the increasing contact with foreigners, disciplined armies and artillery became the ^{necessity} important/among the Indian states in the eighteenth century.

(viii) Comparison with the west.

It must be noted that the picture we get here is only a partial one, that of the Maratha nobility. Dr. Sen has quoted several remarks of foreigners about the comparison between the two societies, western and Indian.¹ An English writer says, " A couple of centuries ago, England had no harbour. The most extensive system of piracy prevailed on the river Thames. The roads, such as they were, swarmed with highwaymen like Robin Hood and blackmail was levied by the highlanders upon the lowland farmers. The English ships were then rotten. They were manned by prisoners taken from the hulks, or by working men pressed in the streets in open day.* The colliers were slaves. In Ireland hangings

1. SASM pp. 430, 450.

* Note - Our wethbigari in comparison with this.

and shootings of rebels were frequent. Towns and cities swarmed with ruffians and brutal sports and brutal language existed to a frightful degree. The people were grossly ignorant and altogether neglected. The upper classes were coarse, drunken and ill-mannered. Bribery and corruption on the grossest scale were the principal means for getting into parliament. Drunkenness was considered a manly vice. Even drunken clergymen were not unknown. Man-fighting, dog-fighting, public whipping and public executions were the popular amusements." Maratha society of much from the above drawbacks the eighteenth century did not suffer/in comparison with contemporary this state of/ English society.

A note on the Photographs.Dhavadshi.

Fig. 1 :- This photograph shows the view of the three tanks at Dhavadshi. The Swami had spent Rs. in digging these tanks. The tanks are still in good condition and are being used by villagers.

Fig. 2 :- This is the back view of the Bhargavram temple. The beautiful building was built by Shahu and was completed after him in 1758. About Rs. 1 lac and 20 thousand were spent in building this temple. The Swami's Samadhi is in this temple. The architects were Sambhaji Naik, Venkaji Naik and Shankaraji Gaundi.

Fig. 3 :- The image of Parshuram made by Bakhatmal and sent by Peshwa Nana Saheb for this temple. This image is a post-Swami image.

Fig. 4 :- Brass images of Kal Kam and Parshuram in the Bhargavram temple. The Swami got these prepared on the line of the images at Parshuram. (At Parrshuram there are three images of Kal Kam and Parshuram.).

Fig. 5 :- The residences of the Swami, his clerks Bhagwats and Tambes at Dhavadshi were formerly surrounded by a rampart. This is the surviving gateway of that rampart.

Fig. 6 :- Nothing now survives of the Swami's residence except the old door. This is the view of the old door and its frame.

Fig. 7 :- Only a fragment of this wall of the Swami's residence at Dhavadshi has remained.

Fig. 8 :- The basil plant or Tulshi-vrindavana of the Swami.

Fig. 9 :- It is said ^{that} at this place formerly there was a building which was reserved for the members of the royal family whenever they came to Dhavadshi for paying a visit to the Swami. The well alone survives today. The building was known as Pangala. The well today is called Pangala-well.

Fig. 10 :- By the side of the tanks (Fig. 1) and the Bhargavram temple there is an underground cellar-like cool place where this Shiv-linga and Nandi are located. It is told that the

Fig.10 :- Swami used to sit here for meditation, the contd.

performance of Sandhya, and incantations.

A stone flight of stairs leads us to this place from the audience hall before the temple.

Fig.11 :- All the temples of the village deities were retained and reconstructed by the swami.

This is the view of the Waghjai temple at Dhavadshi. The tin is modern.

Fig.12 :- Temple of Kalkai on the way to Meruling from Dhavadshi. Part of the Meruling hill is visible in the photograph.

Fig.13 :- This is the view of the tank built by the swami. On its bank is the rest house. There is one more tank like this.

Fig.14 :- The temple of Meruling was surrounded by a rampart. This is the view of the eastern gateway.

Fig.15:- A view of Meruling temple with its three Shikharas and the pillar of light in front.

Fig.16 :- After the conquest of Bassein the bells from the churches were distributed by Chimaji Appa in

Fig.16 :- different temples. This is a view of the
contd.

Portuguese bell at Meruling. A similar bell
was found in the Ganapati temple at Rajur.

Fig.17 :- This is the inside view of the Meruling temple.
The old style of pillars is imitated in wood.

Virmade:

This village is situated on the right of Krishna
about ten miles from Satara. It was here that the Swami
had died.

Fig.18 :- View of the Ganapati temple and the place of the
Swami's samadhi. The Photograph is taken from
the right. A peculiarity of the ghat at Virmade
is told that one can perform Sandhya here by
keeping the river in front and on the back.

Fig.19 :- It is said, the Swami used to take Samadhi during
the month of Shravana at this place. The
original place of his Samadhi might not be open
as it is today. There might have been some
cave-like construction.

Fig.20 :- The inside view of the Ganapati temple. The
Shivling and the image of Ganapati are visible
in the photograph.

Yawat and Malshiras:

Malshiras the inam village of the Swami is about 3 miles from the Bhuleshwar hill on the plateau.

Fig.21 :- The three Shikharas seen in the photograph were built by the Swami. The well below the Shikharas was also built by the Swami.

Fig.22 :- The Swami had instructed the architects to decorate only one viz. the bigger Shikhara, of the temple. This is the view of that Shikhara.

Fig.23 :- The Bhuleshwar hill was formerly known as Daulatmangal and was treated as a fort during the Mohammedan period. There was a mosque built on the temple. The Swami, when he reconstructed the temple, did not demolish the mosque, but shifted it to the south of the hill near the water tank. Here are the remains of this mosque now in a dilapidated condition.

Fig.24 :- A close view of the structure built by the Swami, at Bhukeshwar.

Fig.25 :- A side view of the barav (well) at Malshiras.

This well is a wonderful piece of architecture.

A flight of about 40 steps leads us to the water surface. There is an arrangement for the ' mot ' on this well. The well is helpful to the people for agriculture even today.

Fig.26 :- The mango tree near the barav (fig.25) is supposed to have been planted by the Swami himself. (An agricultural expert says that mango trees could live 300 years. There is a mango tree at Kapurwal which is 300 years old).

Fig.27 :- View of the hill showing the temple of Ganapati at Rajur. The hill is about 110' high.

Fig.28 :- The Shikhar of the temple at Rajur. This should be compared with the Shikhar of the Bhuleshwar. (Fig. 22).

Fig.29 :- Remains of the architecture of the old temple & 30. at Rajur. These decorations and figures are worth studying for archaeologists. It is very surprising that the Archaeological Dept. of Govt. of India has overlooked this temple. The lower portion is old while the Shikhar was built by the Swami.

Fig. 31 :- The round tank built by the Swami near the temple at Rajur. It is at present dry and only the side structure could be seen.

Fig. 32 :- View of the river Vashisthi from Govalkot fort. The river forms a creek near Chiplun. The islands formed by the river could be seen in this photograph.

Fig. 33 :- View of the creek and the hill of Parshuram from Govalkot fort. A legend goes about that the Swami used to cross this creek on a plantain leaf.

Fig. 34 :- View of the village Pedha in the grove of trees on this side of the creek. Chiplun is beyond the creek. The photograph is taken from the Parshuram hill.

Govalkot:

The fort had played an important part in the history of the Angres and the Siddis. It was a stronghold of the Siddis till 1745 when it was captured by Tulaji Angre. It is almost like an island, surrounded by water on all sides, and commands an excellent view of the

surrounding country. There are two gates one to the north and the other to the east. There are eight battlements. The fort is said to have been built in 1690.¹

Fig. 35 :- View of the fort from the base facing the hill of Parshuram.

Fig. 36 :- General view of traces of buildings and dwellings on the fort. No building is standing on the fort at present.

Fig. 37 :- The dry pond on the fort. This pond is 47' long, 44 feet broad and 22' deep.²

Fig. 38 :- General view of the Parshuram temples. On the left the white painted building is the dharmashala or Bhandargriha. There is a pillar of light nearby. On the right of the pillar is the Renuka temple and on the extreme right is the Parshuram temple. The tins are modern put for protecting the structure from rain.

1. Gazetteer of Ratnagiri and Savantwadi. Vol.10, p.336.

2. Gazetteer of Ratnagiri and Savantwadi Vol. 10, p.336.

Fig. 39 :- View of Parshuram temple from backside.

On the left is the Ganapati temple, in the centre the Parshuram temple and on the right is the Renuka temple. The bamboo structure is a reservoir named to commemorate Parshuram's shooting, as (the Arrow-spring, Ban-ganga).

Fig. 40 :- View of Renuka temple. The pillars appear to be those of an old temple.

Fig. 41 :- The pillar of lights (the Deepmal) built of black stone unlike others (Fig.43) in front of the Parshuram temple.

Fig. 42 :- This wooden structure is said to have been built by the Swami. It is likely to have been reconstructed. The white walls beyond are those of the Dharmashala.

Fig. 43 :- A view of the Deepmal and the par (Squarial structure round the tree) outside the Parshuram temple dating from the Swami's times. It is said the Swami had built similar pars to nine trees.

Fig. 44 :- The temple of Jakhmata built by the Swami opposite the Parshuram temple. This is a temple of the local deity formerly standing in the compound of the Parshuram temple. It was later on removed outside. It is said the Swami had vowed to this Goddess who fulfilled his desire.

Fig. 45 :- It is said this temple of Dattatraya about one furlong from the Parshuram temple was built by the Swami. The tin of course is modern.



Fig. 1.
Tanks.



Fig. 2.
Bhargavram
Temple.



Fig. 3.
Bhargavram



Fig. 4.
Kal, Kam & Parshuram.



Fig. 5
Gateway
of the
Matha.



Fig. 6.
Door
Swami's
residence



Fig. 7
Wall
Swami's residence.



Fig. 8
Tulshi
Vrindavana



Fig.9.
Well
Bangala



Fig.10.
Nandi and
Shivlinga



Fig.11.
Waghjai
Temple



Fig.12.
Kalkai
Temple



Fig.13
Tank.



Fig.14.
Eastern
Gateway



Fig.15.
Pillar of
Lights.



Fig.16
Portuguese
bell



Fig.17.



Fig.18
Ganapati Temple
and place of
Samadhi.



Fig.19
Place of
Samadhi



Fig.20.
Ganapati and
Shivlinga.



Fig.21.
Three Peaks
of the
Bhuleshwar
temple.



Fig. 22
Decorated Shikhar
Bhuleshwar.



Fig. 24
Swami's Reconstruction
Bhuleshwar.



Fig. 23
Reconstructed Mosque



Fig.18
Ganapati Temple
and place of
Samadhi.



Fig.19
Place of
Samadhi



Fig.20.
Ganapati and
Shivlinga.



Fig.21.
Three Peaks
of the
Bhuleshwar
temple.



Fig.25.
Square well
Malshiras.



Fig.26
Mango Tree
Malshiras.



Fig. 29
Architecture.



Fig. 31
Round Tank.



Fig. 30.
Architecture.





Fig.34.
View of Pedha
& Chiplun.



Fig.35.
Distant View.



Fig.36.
General View.



Fig.37
Dry Pond
Govalkot.



Fig. 38.
General View.



Fig. 39.
Parchurem Temple.



Fig. 40.
Renuka Temple.



Fig. 41.
Pillar of Light.



Fig. 42.
Wooden Mandap



Fig. 43.
Pillar of Light.



Fig. 44.
Temple of Jakhmata.



Fig. 45.
Temple of Datta.

APPENDIX A.Corrections to reading of Modi letters, of Parasnisi & Rajwade

पारस्नीस्कृत त्रिप्लेवरित्रातील मोडी वाक्याव्या चुकांची दुरनस्ती

१. चरित्र.

| पुस्तक | पत्रमांक | ओळ त्रनमांक | असुधद | कुट्टद | पूळपत्रमांक डे.कॉ.डी.सं. |
|--------|----------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| ३३ | ९ | प्रतापनी काढे | प्रतापनी कोलगुडे | २०।६९६ | |
| ८९ | ७ | गोवळ घेठील | गोवळ देखील | १२। २२२० | |
| ८९ | ४० | चौदा लक्षांचा | चौदा चाले | १२।३३३० | |
| १०२ | सार्वजनिक कामे | २५ | - | २००० - विहीरी १४ | २०।६३२ |
| १०४ | ०० | ७ | तलाव त्रिपुरी | तलाव त्रिपुठी | २०।६३२ |
| १०५ | ३ | आणसी | सनसी | २०।९०२ | |
| १०६ | ६ | आणसी | सनसी | २०।९०२ | |
| १०८ | १६ | चरणावर | चरण | २०।६६३ | |
| १०८ | १७ | लेखन आशा | लेखनाशा | २०।६६३ | |
| १०९ | २ | संमृच्छा | संमृद्धी | २०।६६२ | |
| १०९ | ३ | स्वामीस | स्वामीस | २०।६६२ | |
| १११ | १० | दुःखी | दुःखी | २०।८५६ | |
| ११२ | २१ | देतील | देतील जाणिजे | २०।८५६ | |
| १२४ | ८ | लक्षणी | लक्षणी | २०।९०४ | |
| १२० | ३ | श्रमसायास | श्रमसायास | २०।३३६७ | |

२) पत्रव्यवहार

| पुस्तक | पत्र. नमाक | ओळ नमाक | अभिष्ठद | उच्चद | पूर्णपत्र नमाक |
|--------|---------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| १४ | १६ | २ | हयाल जाह्ला | दाखल जाह्ला | हे.कॉ.डॉ.सं. हस्तलिखीत |
| २३ | २६ | ३ | सडे जाह्लो याचे | सडे जाह्ली याचे | चि. मे. २२।१८ |
| २४ | २६ | ९ | विवार | विस्तार | |
| २४ | २६ | १० | दिल्लीचे पूरे | दिल्लीचे पूरे | |
| २४ | २६ | १२ | दिल्लीचे पूरे | दिल्लीचे पूरे | |
| २५ | २६ | ९ | त्याचा सक | त्याचा सोध | |
| २५ | २६ | १३ | देऊळ | देवळ | |
| २५ | २६ | १५ | बरात | बराबर | |
| २५ | २६ | १६ | सलूक | सलूक | |
| २५ | २६ | १७ | केल्यास | केल्यास व | |
| २६ | २६ | १ | राजे बखताल | खो बखताल | |
| २६ | २६ | ८ | भला भलूरा | भला जानुस | |
| २६ | २६ | १२ | रोज अफजूलान | रोज अफाजूलान | |
| २७ | २६ | ८ | बारात गेलेला | बाढात गेलेला | |
| २७ | २६ | १० | चौकीदै | चौगीदै | |
| २७ | २६ | १५ | बडेलास | होडलास | |
| २९ | २६ | ३ | देतील | घेतील | |
| २९ | २६ | ३ | महाबर प्रांते आता | महाबर प्रांते जावो | |

| प्राठोक त्रिमास | पत्र त्रिमास | ओळ त्रिमास | अनुच्छद | सुध | मूळ पत्र त्रिमास |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| २९ जि. | ३६ | १२ | खालमा | करहा | |
| २९ | ३६ | १२ | ओसेच केले | ओसेच केले | |
| २९ | ३६ | १६ | झिकडेस सक | झिकडेस सला | |
| ३० | ३१ | १ | लक्कर सातारि | लेकरे खरी | चि.ने.१६।२४ |
| ४० | ३२ | १ | तुम्ही जालेत | तुम्ही जालेस | २१।६० |
| ५५ | ४१ | ११ | कवरदेवान | कपरदेवान | १६।४० |
| ७५ | ४९ | १२ | बालोन द्वालू वैत्तलू | बालोन द्वालू वैत्तलू | १६।४२ |
| १२६ | १०३ | ४ | अुटकपैकी | मुद्दलापैकी | डे.का.अ.स.२०।१७ |
| १६१ | १४५ | १ | रायानी | रामानी | २०।२५ |
| १९३ | १४५ | ४ | गेथील म्हाराजांच्या | गेथील कुश्ल म्हाराजांच्या | २०।२६ |
| १९३ | १६६ | १४ | जगासाठी रागे | राना साठी रागे | २०।२६ |
| २१६ | २१९ | १ | खरेदीबळ | खरीदीबळ | २०।४०३ |
| २१६ | २१९ | ६ | आहे ओसे | आहे म्हणून | २०।४०३ |
| २१६ | २१९ | ६ | ओसे | ओसे | २०।४०३ |
| २२१६ | २२० | १ | सेवेती | गेवेती | २०।४०३ |
| २१६ | २२० | ४ | गुरनवासर | भूगुवासर | २०।४०३ |
| २१७ | २२० | ४ | कळवा पडला | कळवा पडीला | २०।४०३ |
| २१७ | २२० | ५ | त्याची | त्याचे | २०।४०३ |
| २१७ | २२० | ३० | ये विसी | ये विसी | २०।४०३ |
| २१७ | २२१ | २ | स्वापीच्या | स्वापीचे | ०।४०३ |

| पूर्णांक | पत्र नंमांक | ओळ नंमांक | अनुच्छद | मुद्रित | मूलपत्रनमांक |
|----------|----------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| २१७ | २३१ | ५ | महालुंगे | महालुंगे | डे.कॉ.अॅ.म. २०।४०१ |
| २१७ | २३१ | ६ | गावच्या रयता | गावीच्या रयेता | २०।४०१ |
| २१७ | २३३ | ७ | अवृश्य | अवृश्यक | २०।४०१ |
| २१७ | २३३ | ८ | रा. | राजभी | २०।४०१ |
| २१८ | २३३ | ९ | ऐशास | ऐशास | २०।४०६ |
| २१९ | २३४ | १ | श्री. | श्रीरामचंद्र | २०।४०६ |
| २१९ | २३४ | २ | सेक्सी | सेक्सी | २०।४०६ |
| २१९ | २३४ | ३ | पै-क्याविसी | पै-क्याविसी | २०।४०६ |
| २१९ | २३४ | ४ | बोढी | बोढी | ८८ २०।४०६ |
| २१९ | २३५ | १ | श्री. | श्रीरामचन्द्र | २०।४०८ |
| २१९ | २३५ | २ | महाराज श्री परमहंस | परमहंस महाराज श्री | २०।४०८ |
| २२० | २३५ | ३ | आर्जीदपत्र | आसीर्वादपत्र | २०।४०८ |
| २२० | २३५ | ४ | खंडोजीहस्ते | खंडोजी बाा | २०।४०८ |
| २२० | २३५ | ५ | हस्ते | बाा | २०।४०८ |
| २२० | २३५ | ६ | सेक्सी विश्वापना | सेक्सी विश्वापना | २०।४०८ |
| २२० | २३६ | ७ | इनपये:- | बी-इनपये | २०।४०९ |
| २२० | २३६ | ८ | लिलाजी सावंत | लिलाजी उनंत | २०।४०९ |
| २२२ | २३८ | ९ | आणसीढी | आणीकढी | २०।४११ |
| २२५ | २३८ | १ | आंवळयाजवळ | आंवळयापस्याजवळ | २०।४१७ |
| २२७ | २३७ | २ | जाहले | जाले | २०।४०६ |

| पृष्ठांक क्रमांक | पत्र क्रमांक | गोल क्रमांक | अनुच्छेद | लिखित | पूर्णपत्रक्रमांक. |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| २२७ | २२७ | १६ | विज्ञापना | विज्ञापना पो. डे. का. औ. स. बिहिरे सल्लासीन छ २३ रजम र. १००० | २०।४०८. |
| २२८ | २२९ | १ | श्री | श्री नक्कल | डे. का. औ. स. २०।४।२० |
| २२९ | २२९ | ६ | संजाक | संजाक | डे. का. औ. स. २०।४।२० |
| २३० | २२९ | ११ | नाहीत | नाही | डे. का. औ. स. २०।४।२० |
| २४४ | २५४ | ६ | त्यावारणे | त्या प्रापा वारणे | डे. का. औ. स. २०।४।२१ |
| २४४ | २५४ | ६ | आठोपते | आठोपते | २०।४।२२ |
| २४४ | २५४ | १२ | हे आवा | हे आवा हे आवा | २०।४।२२ |
| २४५ | २५७ | ३ | श्रीमार्गवाचाम | श्रीमार्गव चिरञ्जीव अवतार | २०।४।२६ |
| २४५ | २५७ | १०।१।१ | पापिली होती | पापिली | २०।४।२६ |
| २४६ | २५७ | ७ | लक्षणरावाजळ | लक्षणरायाजळ | २०।४।२६ |
| २४६ | २५८ | १२ | आसेप | वासेप | २०।४।२२ |
| २४७ | २५८ | ३ | मांडो नका | मांडोया नका | २०।४।२२ |
| २४७ | २५९ | ३ | सौ. | कृष्णाथ व कृष्णाथाची मत्यमाण पीठी तेमी झुपयेता तुम्ही सौ - कलयुगची सौ | २०।४।२३ |
| २४७ | २५९ | ३ | पागोन | पागोन त्या | २०।४।२३ |
| २५२ | २५७ | ४ | शहावाडा कृष्ण | शहावाडा | २०।४।४३ |
| २५३ | २५८ | ५ | मधी काही | कधी काही | २०।४।३० |
| २५३ | २८० | ५ | तळाघोळासारखे मेठ | तळाघोळासारखे मेठ | २०।४।३४ |

| पृष्ठांक | पत्र नमांक | ओळं नमांक | अशुद्ध | शुद्ध | सूचितवयाक |
|----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---|----------------------|
| २६३ | २८० | २८० | बयाजी महाडकर | बकाजी महाडोक | डे.कॉ.ओ.स. २०१४५४ |
| २६३ | २८० | ८ | अंगाजी साठा | अंगाजी साठम | २०१४५४ |
| २८५ | ३०४ | ९ | सूत (१) | सूत | २०१४७७ |
| २९७ | ३१२ | ९ | लाथ घातली | लाथ घातली | २०१४९४ |
| ३०३ | ३२८ | ४ | बोलिले | बोलिलेले | २०१५०१ |
| ३०३ | ३२८ | १० | घालणे | घालणे.आचली येण ग्राहणास पारीत होता. गिरिजा नार्यीण घरांत आणिली. | २०१५०१ |
| ३०३ | ३२८ | १५ | त्यागे | त्यागेहि | २०१५०१ |
| ३१६ | ३४८ | १३ | केळा | केळा | २०१४२३ |
| ३१७ | ३४९ | ७ | राणोजी | रातनी | २०१४२३ |
| ३१७ | ३५० | १२ | खंड | खंडवलेच | २०१४२४ |
| ३१८ | ३५१ | ३ | राजुरी | राजुरे | २०१४२५ |
| ३१८ | ३५१ | ८ | स्वामीचो | स्वामीच्या | २०१४२५ |
| ३२० | ३५२ | ७ | त्या गार्जे | त्यापुढावे | २०१४२७ |
| ३२० | ३५४ | १ | शी. | शीरामवरद | २०१४२८ |
| ३२० | ३५४ | ४ | अुम्रेड | अुम्ब्रेल | २०१४२८ |
| ३२१ | ३५४ | १५ | तसे हवली | येसे हवली | २०१४२९ |
| ३२१ | ३५५ | १ | शी | शीनरहरीवरद | |
| ३२२ | ३५६ | ४ | ता. १२ | ता. छ १२ | २०१४२९ |
| ३२३ | ३५६ | ३ | आपलगा | आपला | २०१४२९ |
| ३२३ | ३५६ | ९ | अित्तला | अित्तवा | २०१४२९ |

| पृष्ठांक | पत्रक्रमांक | ओळक्रमांक | असुधद | सुधद | मूलपत्रक्रमांक |
|----------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|--|------------------|
| १२३ | २५६ | १२ | योस | योसी | ड.कॉ.अ.स. २०।४२९ |
| १२३ | २५६ | १३ | पत्र बोलावणे | पत्र व बोलावणे | २०।४२९ |
| १२३ | २५६ | १५ | साता-योस | सातारास | २०।४२९ |
| १२३ | २५६ | २४ | हव | बाबा | २०।४२९ |
| १२५ | २५८ | ५ | राजशी दादा | राजशी राजू | २०।४३१ |
| १२५ | २५८ | ६ | पाठकिले | पाठकिला | २०।४३१ |
| १२५ | २५८ | १० | गारिला | म्हणून गारिला | २०।४३१ |
| १२६ | २५९ | ८ | बांधवो | बांधवो व बाह्या- बाहेरील वैसरी भुतम बांधावी. सोंभा सारी बाहेर आहे. गाकरिता घर कौलार व वैसरीचे गालवद बांधान दो गालवदास मापान पुरत नाही. गाकरिता घर कौलार केले सेवेसी इत जाह्ले पाहिजे गावची रसद मागाहून दो चै रोजा सेवेसी पाठकिलो राणोजी | ११।३९९ |
| १२७ | २६२ | ११ | माणसानिसी | माणसानिसी देखून | १२।३०९ |
| १२७ | २६४ | ११ | (दुः) | दुः | १२।३०९ |
| १२८ | २६१ | २ | बुपदेश व मंत्र | बुपदेश्का मंत्र | १२।५२० |
| १२८ | २६१ | २ | कळत | फळत | १२।५२० |
| १२८ | २६१ | ३ | माथा | जागा | १२।५२० |

| पृष्ठांक | पत्रकन्माक | ओळंगणांक | असु द | शुद्ध | मूलपत्रकन्माक |
|----------|------------|----------|---------------|--|------------------------|
| ३३४ | १६३ | ६ | आजितागायत्र | आजितागायत्र जे कोणी लादची सोड- -कीव परोपकार... | डे.कॉ.जै.सं. १२१५२० |
| ३३४ | १६१ | ६ | सराच असेल | सराच केला असेल | १२१५२० |
| ३३४ | १६१ | ११ | गोविंद दामाजी | गोविंद रामजी | १२१५२० |
| ३३४ | १६१ | १५ | मग | मग | १२१५२० |
| ३३४ | १६१ | १० | त्याची | त्याचे | १२१५२० |

३) राजवाडेकृत पराठयाच्या अितिहासाची साधने खंड ३

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| २४ | २८ | १२ | पापका | पापाला | २०।१०६९ |
| ३६ | ३० | १३ | गपाचार | परामूर्त | ब्र.च.ले. ३६ |
| ३३ | ३७ | ६ | तहु रह | तहु रह | डे.कॉ.जै.सं. २०।४८९ |
| ३८ | ४६ | ४ | समाळगड | समाळगड | |
| ४० | ४६ | ७ | आहो . रात्र | आहोरात्र अमता | |
| ५९ | १०२ | ९ | जास्ताचा घेऊन | जास्ताचा कैल घेऊन | २०।९१२ |
| ५९ | १०२ | ११ | तोऱ्या | तोऱ्या | २०।९१३ |
| ६० | १०४ | ७,९ | झिंजानेह | झिंजानेह | २०।९१५ |
| ६१ | १०४ | २ | तर्फची पुळण | तर्फची पुळण | २०।९१६ |
| ६६ | १०९ | ३ | प्रतिवेदना | परिदेवता | |
| २५६ | २६६ | १५ | गदाचर्ती | गदाचर्ती | |
| २७१ | २७२ | ८ | मुतडीचे | मुरनडीचे | |

APPENDIX B

Correction of Dates given by Parasnisi
and Rajwade.

While going through the original correspondence in Modi in Rumals 12 and 20 and the Barnisi from the Deccan College Historical Museum, several errors of dates were traced. Athley had corrected some errors of dates occurring in Rajwade's Vol.III and Parasnisi's biography, in his article in the Granthmala in 1901, and Rajwade corrected some of Parasnisi's dates in his preface to the III volume. Errors corrected with due reasons given below exclude Athley and Rajwade's corrections.

| Letter No. | Incorrect Date | Correct Date | Reasons |
|------------------------|----------------|--------------|--|
| R.III 29) PBCL-19) | 7-4-1717 | 1711 | In this letter Balaji Vishwanath is not addressing himself as the chief minister (Pant Pradhan). Balaji Became Peshwa in 1713 . Rajwade presumed that Balaji did not mention his designation in this letter to the Swami through reverence for him. He |

| Letter No. | Incorrect Date | Correct date | Reasons |
|---|----------------|--------------|--|
| R.III 29) PBCL-19) <u>Contd.</u> | | | therefore dated this letter as 7-4-1717. ¹ |
| By suggesting moreover | | | |
| . राजकीय लग्नप्रसंग for राजश्री व- | | | |
| . बाजिराजोपाधि लग्न प्रसंग | | | |
| Rajwade wants to hint perhaps at the imminent Shahu - Tarabai struggle. | | | |
| Rajwade's date is not correct and his suggestion in the reading is unwarranted. As there is the mention of राजश्री in the letter, it is evident that Shahu has already come to Maharashtra, and some three or four years have elapsed. As Balaji is not mentioning himself as Peshwa, this letter is written earlier than 1713 when he be- -came a Peshwa. For Bajirao's marriage 1711 seems a likely date as his age then was 11 years. ² The correct date of this letter is 1711. | | | |

1. R.III Preface p.196

2. SMR CSPBV p.185

| Letter No. | Incorrect date. | Correct date. | Reasons |
|---------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| PBCL. 114 | 1716 (Parasnisi) | December 1719 April 1717 (Rajwade) | To both Parasnisi & Rajwade, the selections from Peshwa Daftari published in 1730 were not available. Now from two letters in the Peshwa Daftari it is evident that Balaji Vishwanath was at Wadi (Narsobawadi) in December 1919. ¹ The Swami also mentions in one of his letters about the giving of gold to Balaji. ² The correct date of this letter is December 1719. |
| R.III -97 | 1725 (Rajwade) | January 1733 | Rajwade had dated letter No.97 as 1725. Athley corrects this date to 26th March 1733. In both the letters the news of the historic meeting of Bajirao and Nizam at Roherameshwari is mentioned. Athley thought that Bajirao and the Nizam met on 26th March 1733. With the help of the Selections from the Peshwa's |
| R.III 259 | April 1733 (Athley) | | |

1. SPD 7/34 and 35

2. DCHM 12/1049

| Letter No. | Incorrect date | Correct date | Reasons. |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| R.III 97 | | | Daftar Sardesai has corrected this date of the meeting to 27th |
| R.III 259 | | | December 1732. ¹ As the letter gives the news of that meeting, it must have been written a few days after the meeting. ² The |
| <u>contd.</u> | | | correct date of this letter, therefore, is beginning of January 1733. This applies to letter No.269 also. |
| R.III 243 | 15-5-1728 | 1729 | Rajwade dated this letter as 15th May 1728. Here Sekhoji Angre addresses himself as Sarkhel. We know that Kanhoji died in July 1729 & Sekhoji became Sarkhel in the Aug. of 1729. Rajwade knows the date of Kanhoji's death. ³ Sekhoji cannot be a Sarkhel in May of 1728 when obviously Kanhoji is alive. - Rajwade's date, therefore, is wrong and must have been due to overlooking. |

1. SPD 22/80

2. BISM Ait.San.Sahitya Vol. VI, p.11. PBCL 121.

3. R.III Preface p.160

| Letter No. | Incorrect date | Correct date | Reasons |
|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|--|
| R.III 15 | 19-2-1725 (Rajwade) | 18-2-1728 | Rajwade dates this letter as 1725. The explanation given by him is not correct or convincing. Village Pimpri might have been secured by the Swami in 1725 but here the occasion is different. The Nizam has allied with Chhatrapati Sambhaji of Kolhapur during his campaign against the Peshwa in 1728. The Nizam was at this time in Poona where Sambhaji's marriage was celebrated. Rajashri Chhatrapati in this letter is not Shahu as Rajwade wrongly supposed him to be, but Sambhaji of Kolhapur whom Chimnaji Damodar was serving as his Peshwa. ¹ |
| PBCL 11 | 15-1-1735 (Parasnus) | 23-1-1745 | From recent researches it has been revealed that the forts Anjanwel and Govalkot were not captured by the Marathas during the Janjira war. Parasnus and Rajwade were misled by this date. Anjanwel actually capitulated to Tulaji Angre on the 23rd January 1745 when Queen Sakwarbai informed the Swami of the event. ² |

1. SPD 10/50

2. SMR CSPB p.237

APPENDIX C.An account of the Dhavadshi Daftari.A - The Bakhars.

The Dhavadshi daftari consisted of several original documents useful for the biography of the Swami. Along with thousands of letters there were two Bakhars (accounts) and one life of the Swami written in verse. One of these bakhars was procured by K.N.Sane, the editor of 'Kavyetihasa-sangraha' from Parshuram Bhikaji Bhate, pleader, Dist.Court Ratnagiri, who had secured it from Dhavadshi. Sane published the Bakhar under the name 'Brahmendraswamiche Charitra' in the IVth volume of the Kavyetihasasangraha from January 1881 to July in the following order.

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Month</u> | <u>Pages.</u> |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1 | January 1881 | 1 - 8 |
| 3 | March " | 9 - 16 |
| 4 | April " | 17 - 24 |
| 5 | May " | 25 - 32 |
| 6 | June " | 33 - 40 |
| 7 | July " | 41 - 42 |

The other bakhar is known as 'Brahmendraswamichya Nidhanachi Bakhar' which is not a separate bakhar but the last part of the first bakhar. It was printed by Parasnis

in the Bharatvarsha. Its MS is available in the Deccan College collection. The life of the Swami in verse was obtained by Parasnis from D.M.Tambe of Dhavadshi. It appears to have been composed by one Bhalchandra Baldixit Ayachit some time between 1830 and 1850. It has five cantoes and its metre is Arya. The Ms. of this verse is also available in the Deccan College collection. Parasnis has appended this life to his biography of the Swami.

B - The Correspondence.

Brahmendra Swami left Konkan in 1728 and came to Dhavadshi and settled down there. Since about 1715 he was corresponding with different persons in and out of the Maratha state. While leaving Parshuram he had kept his record along with his treasures of Parshuram at Rasalgad, a fort to the Northeast of Chiplun.¹ The record was later on removed to Dhavadshi in 1730. The record remained at Dhavadshi till the Swami's death in 1745 and continued to be there in charge of the Bhagwats and Tambes, the Swami's dependents.

Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas was hunting for original material to write his history. He came across the Dhavadshi daftari in about 1820. He mentions among the various materials for his history a very important collection of political letters which he was not allowed to use as freely as he would have liked and of which he was not permitted to take copies. "Many interesting letters," writes Duff, "from Bajirao and Chimaji were lent to me by the descendants of the disciples of the Davarsee Swami The Peshwa's letters to his Swami and his brother, detail the actions of his life in familiar manner without disquise and are quite invaluable. I was permitted to translate

1. DCHM 20/530.

but not to copy them." The translated extracts which Duff used for his work have shared the fate of all other materials and cannot now be traced.

After Duff, Rajwade went to Dhavadshi and to Pimpri in about 1890 and ransacked the daftari. He selected some 252 letters and published them by instalments in the Grantha-mala, which later on took the form of a book - Rajwade's Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane Volume III. Rajwade got the letters copied and returned the originals to Shri Dinkarrao Tambe of Dhavadshi. After Rajwade Parasnisi went to Dhavadshi in 1895 and selected some 400 letters for his biography from 1500 letters that came to his hand. Parasnisi went to Pimpri also and availed himself of some letters regarding the Swami at Pimpri.¹ The letters were copied, sorted, annotated and were published along with the biography in 1900. It is not known whether Parasnisi took away the original letters at this time of some years -- after.

The Dhavadshi Daftari had now become a part of the Historical Museum of Parasnisi at Satara. When this Museum was sold to the Government of Bombay in 1925, the daftari became a Government property and remained in the Government Museum Building specially built for the museum, at Satara

1. Preface - PBC p. 5

till the birth of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute at Poona in August 1939. The Museum, then was given in the custody of the Deccan College Research Institute. The book of Barnisi (or Chitnisi Mestak) which Parasnus has mentioned in his preface (p.4) has also come to the Deccan College Museum. Duff's copies of Peshwa's important letters could be found in this Barnisi. Part of the daftar, remaining at Dhavadshi was burnt down in 1906 by an accidental fire and in 1948 after the well known holocaust.*

The exact number of the letters and rumals of the daftar which was seen by Rajwade and Parasnus, cannot be ascertained. The Dhawadshi Daftari in the Deccan College Historical Museum at present is divided into two lots (rumals) - Rumals 12 and 20. The first one has 1115 letters and the second one has 1095 letters totalling to about 2200 letters in all. The first Rumal viz. No. 12 contains letters from and to unimportant persons. All the letters in this Rumal were in fragmentary condition and were not in a serial order. They were sorted, arranged and numbered. Rumal 20 is an important one and originals of most of the published letters of Parasnus could be traced

* (I am indebted to Shri V.K.Tambe of Satara and Shri

Jaguanna Tambe of Dhavadshi for supplying me this information).

in this rumal. Some of the original letters published by Rajwade also can be traced by in this Rumal.

Here is an account of the Published letters in the Brahmendracharitra and Rajwade's vol.III, the originals of which were traced in the Rumals of Dhavadshi Daftar in the Deccan College Historical Museum. Some of the important letters of the Peshwas were found copied in the Barnisi or Chitnisi Mestak in the Museum. The Total number of original letters traced are as follows:-

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Brahmendra charitra ... | 25 |
| Brahmendra charitra | |
| Patravyawahar | 293 |
| Rajwade volume III | 17 |
| Barnisi or Chitnisi | |
| Mestak | 24 |
| Identical letters in | |
| Brahmendra charitra | |
| Patravyawahar and Rajwade | |
| Volume III | 13 |

In all 359 originals of published letters have been traced. The detailed list of corresponding published and unpublished letters is given below.

This list is given for those who want to dive deep into the matter and carry on further studies.

| <u>PBCP</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| 18 | 20/1166 | 1 | 20/556 | 55 | Autograph ¹ |
| 25 | 20/919 | 1 | 20/979 | 67 | 20/157 |
| 27 | 20/1036 | 2 | 20/265 | 76 | 20/287 |
| 28 | 20/756 | 3 | 20/266 | 77 | 20/288 |
| 29 | 20/834 | 4 | 20/267 | 78 | 20/290 |
| 33 | 20/596 | 5 | 20/268 | 79 | 20/291 |
| 33 | 20/1213 | 6 | 20/269 | 80 | 20/292 |
| 33 | 20/1216 | 7 | 20/270 | 81 | 20/974 |
| 33 | 20/1217 | 8 | 20/271 | 82 | 20/294 |
| 58 | 20/454 | 9 | 20/272 | 83 | 20/295 |
| 58 | 20/82 | 10 | 20/273 | 84 | 20/296 |
| 90 | 20/954 | 11 | 20/274 | 85 | 20/297 |
| 93 | 12/386 | 12 | 20/275 | 86 | 20/298 |
| 95 | 20/512 | 13 | 20/276 | 87 | 20/299 |
| 95 | 20/1105 | 14 | 20/278 | 88 | 20/299 |
| 107 | 20/232 | 15 | 20/277 | 89 | 20/300 |
| 108 | 20/583 | 16 | 20/279 | 90 | 20/167 |
| 114 | 20/856 | 17 | Autograph* | 91 | 20/168 |
| 123 | 20/1146 | 20 | 20/280 | 92 | 20/169 |
| 125 | 20/1151 | 21 | 20/281 | 93 | 20/170 |
| 128 | 20/1167 | 22 | 20/282 | 94 | 20/171 |
| 131 | 12/392 | 23 | 20/283 | 95 | 20/172 |
| 132 | 12/391 | 24 | 20/284 | 96 | 20/173 |
| 105 | 20/1087 | 53 | Autograph* | 97 | 20/174 |

| <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 98 | 20/175 | 139 | 20/20 | 171 | 20/355 |
| 99 | 20/176 | 140 | 20/21 | 172 | 20/356 |
| 100 | 20/177 | 142 | 20/22 | 173 | 20/358 |
| 101 | 20/178 | 143 | 20/23 | 174 | 20/359 |
| 102 | 20/179 | 144 | 20/24 | 175 | 20/360 |
| 103 | 20/314 | 145 | 20/25 | 176 | 20/361 |
| 106 | 20/315 | 146 | 20/26 | 177 | 20/362 |
| 107 | 20/207 | 147 | 20/27 | 178 | 20/363 |
| 108 | 20/208 | 148 | 20/28 | 179 | 20/367 |
| 109 | 20/209 | 149 | 20/28 | 180 | 20/365 |
| 111 | 20/319 | 150 | 20/29 | 181 | 20/366 |
| 115 | 20/7 | 151 | 20/30 | 182 | 20/367 |
| 117 | Autograph* | 152 | 20/131 | 183 | 20/368 |
| 128 | 20/9 | 156 | 20/344 | 185 | 20/369 |
| 129 | 20/10 | 162 | 20/345 | 186 | 20/370 |
| 130 | 20/11 | 163 | 20/346 | 187 | 20/371 |
| 131 | 20/12 | 164 | 20/347 | 188 | 20/372 |
| 132 | 20/13 | 164A | 20/348 | 189 | 20/374 |
| 133 | 20/14 | 165 | 20/349 | 190 | 20/374 |
| 134 | 20/15 | 166 | Autograph* | 191 | 20/375 |
| 135 | 20/16 | 167 | 20/350 | 192 | 20/376 |
| 136 | 20/17 | 168 | Autograph* | 194 | 20/377 |
| 137 | 20/18 | 169 | 20/352 | 195 | 20/378 |
| 138 | 20/19 | 170 | 20/353 | 196 | 20/379 |

* Autograph letters in the Deccan College
Historical Museum.

| <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 197 | 20/380 | 222 | 20/406 | 246 | 20/519 |
| 198 | 20/381 | 223 | Autograph* | 247 | 20/520 |
| 199 | 20/382 | 224 | 20/405 | 248 | 20/521 |
| 200 | 20/383 | 225 | 20/404 | 249 | 20/522 |
| 201 | 20/384 | 226 | 20/409 | 251 | 20/523 |
| 202 | 20/385 | 227 | 20/410 | 252 | 20/525 |
| 203 | 20/386 | 228 | 20/411 | 253 | 20/524 |
| 204 | 20/387 | 229 | 20/412 | 254 | 20/432 |
| 205 | 20/388 | 230 | 20/413 | 255 | 20/433 |
| 206 | 20/389 | 231 | 20/414 | 256 | 20/434 |
| 207 | 20/390 | 232 | 20/415 | 257 | 20/435 |
| 208 | 20/391 | 233 | 20/416 | 258 | 20/432 |
| 209 | 20/392 | 234 | 20/417 | 259 | 20/437 |
| 210 | 20/393 | 235 | 20/418 | 260 | 20/438 |
| 211 | 20/394 | 236 | 20/407 | 261 | 20/439 |
| 212 | 20/394 | 237 | 20/408 | 262 | 20/440 |
| 233 | 20/396 | 238 | 20/419 | 263 | 20/440 |
| 214 | Autograph* | 239 | 20/420 | 264 | 20/440 |
| 215 | 20/397 | 240 | 20/513 | 265 | 20/441 |
| 216 | 20/398 | " " | 20/783 | 266 | 20/441 |
| 217 | 20/399 | 241 | 20/514 | 267 | 20/442 |
| 218 | 20/400 | 242 | 20/515 | 268 | 20/320 |
| 219 | 20/402 | 243 | 20/516 | 269 | 20/443 |
| 220 | 20/403 | 244 | 20/517 | 270 | 20/444 |
| 221 | 20/401 | 245 | 20/518 | 271 | 20/445 |

* Autograph letters in the Deccan College
Historical Museum

| <u>PBCI</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 272 | 20/446 | 297 | 20/471 | 322 | 20/494 |
| 273 | 20/447 | 298 | 20/472 | 323 | 20/495 |
| 274 | 20/448 | 299 | 20/473 | 324 | 20/496 |
| 275 | 20/449 | 300 | 20/474 | 325 | 20/497 |
| 276 | 20/450 | 301 | 20/475 | 326 | 20/499 |
| 277 | 20/452 | 302 | 20/476 | 327 | 20/500 |
| 278 | 20/453 | 303 | 20/477 | 328 | 20/501 |
| 279 | 20/453 | 304 | 20/477 | 329 | 20/501 |
| 280 | 20/454 | 305 | 20/478 | 331 | 20/502 |
| 281 | 20/455 | 306 | 20/479 | 332 | 20/503 |
| 282 | 20/456 | 307 | 20/480 | 333 | 20/504 |
| 283 | 20/457 | 308 | 20/481 | 334 | 20/505 |
| 284 | 20/458 | 309 | 20/482 | 335 | 20/506 |
| 285 | 20/459 | 310 | 20/483 | 336 | 20/507 |
| 286 | 20/460 | 311 | 20/484 | 337 | 20/508 |
| 287 | 20/962A | 312 | 20/485 | 338 | 20/509 |
| 288 | 20/461 | 313 | 20/486 | 346 | 20/204 |
| 289 | 20/462 | 314 | 20/487 | 347 | 20/421 |
| 290 | 20/463 | 315 | 20/491 | 348 | 20/422 |
| 291 | 20/464 | 316 | 20/492 | 349 | 20/423 |
| 292 | 20/465 | 317 | 20/488 | 350 | 20/424 |
| 293 | 20/466 | 318 | 20/489 | 351 | 20/425 |
| 294 | 20/468 | 319 | 20/490 | 352 | 20/511 |
| 295 | 20/469 | 320 | 20/490A | 353 | 20/427 |
| 296 | 20/470 | 321 | 20/493 | 354 | 20/428 |

| <u>PBCL</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>R.III</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>CM</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| 356 | 20/429 | 31 | 20/275 | 41 | 18/40 |
| 357 | 20/430 | 37 | 20/551 | 42 | 3/6 |
| 358 | 20/431 | " | 20/49 | 43 | 9/23 |
| 359 | 12/359 | " | 20/390 | 46 | 17/37 |
| 360 | 20/509 | 40 | 20/699 | 48 | 11/25 |
| 361 | 20/510 | " | 20/700 | 49 | 19/42 |
| 362 | 20/511 | 86 | 20/796 | 51 | 6/16 |
| 363 | 20/290 | 87 | 12/640 | 52 | 20/45 |
| 364 | 12/309 | 102 | 20/913 | 53 | Autograph |
| 365 | 12/310 | 105 | 20/914 | 55 | 14/30 |
| 367 | 20/463 | 108 | 20/915 | 58 | 2/4 |
| 369 | 12/520 | 175 | 20/384 | 60 | 8/ |
| 370 | 20/872 | <u>Brahmendra Charitra</u> | | 61 | 12/26 |
| 371 | 20/882 | <u>& Chitnisi Mestak .</u> | | 62 | 13/28 |
| 273 | 20/888 | <u>PBCL</u> | <u>CM</u> | <u>R.III</u> | <u>PBCP</u> |
| 374 | 20/318 | 26 | 10/24 | | |
| <u>Rajwade's Vol.III</u> | | 27 | 23/58 | | |
| <u>R.III</u> | <u>DCHM</u> | 29 | 5/10 | 179 | 32 |
| 11 | 20/265 | 31 | 16/34 | 305 | 49 |
| 19 | 20/984 | 32 | 21/50 | 22 | 123 |
| 20 | 12/140 | 33 | 24/6 | " | " |
| 22 | 20/859 | 34 | 26/78 | <u>R.III</u> | <u>PBCL</u> |
| " | 20/903 | 35 | 25/73 | 11 | 2 |
| " | SPD 8761 | 38 | 22/54 | 31 | 12 |
| 28 | 20/1069 | 40 | 4/9 | 30 | 26 |

| <u>R.III</u> | <u>PBCL</u> |
|--------------|-------------|
| 16 | 28 |
| 26 | 30 |
| 12 | 67 |
| 206 | 184 |
| 175 | 201 |
| 104 | 242 |
| 29 | 19 |

| <u>PBCL</u> | <u>P</u> |
|-------------|-----------|
| | <u>AY</u> |
| 56 | 35 |

ANALYSIS.

i) Letters about the Swami.

| | <u>R.20</u> | <u>R.12</u> | <u>R.III</u> | <u>PBC</u> | <u>APY</u> | <u>SPD</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| a) Letters to the Swami | 384 | 59 | 148 | 291 | 14 | - |
| b) Letters of the Swami | 131 | 1 | 21 | 101 | - | 2 |

CHRONOLOGICAL

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|----|-----|---|---|
| A.D.1700-1720 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| 1720-1730 | 20 | 15 | 34 | - | - | - |
| 1730-1740 | 73 | 30 | 90 | 153 | 5 | 8 |
| 1740-1745 | 123 | 90 | 70 | 220 | 2 | 5 |
| 1745 onwards | 210 | 180 | 15 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Undated letters | 569 | 800 | - | - | - | - |

OBSERVATIONS

- i) Majority of letters concerning the Swami are from 1730 onwards.
- ii) Rumals 12 & 20 in the Deccan College Historical Museum.
- iii) There are very few letters for the period upto 1730.
- iii) The number of post - Swami letter is also bigger than the rest.

PERSONS AND PLACES.

As regards persons, the following table will give a clear idea. The letters of the ladies are duplicated in this table, under separate group heads and also in the last group.

| | <u>R.20</u> | <u>R.12</u> | <u>R.III</u> | <u>BC</u> | <u>SPD</u> | <u>APY</u> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| i) <u>Letters by the Swami to -</u> | | | | | | |
| The Siddis | 2 | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Angres | 2 | - | 4 | 22 | - | - |
| Chhatrapatis | 14 | - | 4 | 11 | - | - |
| Peshwas | 14 | - | - | 30 | 6 | - |
| Maratha Sardars | 22 | - | 4 | 16 | - | - |
| Swami's dependants | 28 | - | 14 | 1 | - | - |
| ii) <u>Letters to the Swami by</u> | | | | | | |
| The Siddis | 19 | - | 1 | 14 | - | - |
| Angres | 8 | - | 87 | 6 | - | - |
| Chhatrapatis | 58 | - | 6 | 48 | - | 2 |
| Peshwas | 23 | - | 14 | 123 | - | 14 |
| Maratha Sardars | 130 | 9 | 20 | 71 | - | - |
| Dependants | 21 | 44 | 10 | 1 | - | - |
| Ladies | 58 | 4 | 19 | 46 | - | - |

REMARKS. i) The total number in each group does not mean that there were as many writers as the number of letters. The same person has written several letters.

ii) The importance of Rumal 20 is evident from these tables.

Letters of Maratha Nobility, ladies and the Chhatrapatis are more in number in this Rumal.

iii) Rajwade's volume gives us majority of letters regarding the Angres. While Parasnisi's book gives more letters of the Peshwas.

PLACES.

As regards places most of the Swami's letters are written from Dhavadshi. A few are written from Parshuram. (Whenever occasionally the Swami went to Parshuram for his Samadhi.) The commandants of Rasalgad always seem to be writing to the Swami. There is a copious correspondence from the Swami's vatan villages in the Konkan viz. Pedhe (Parshuram), Ambdas, Dorle, Mahalunge, Gothana etc. Out of these more letter are written from Gothana. Many letters have been written from Kolaba and Suvarnadurga, the strongholds of the Angres. Forts Jaygad Poornagad, Anjanwel, Govalkot, and Janjira too appear often in the correspondence. But generally the correspondence is restricted to Dhavadshi, Virmade, Anewadi, Satara, Poona, Ravdi and Rile on the Desha and the Swami's vatan villages in the Konkan. The Swami's

correspondence ranged from Dhar Indore in the North to Goa in the South and from Sugarnadurga in the Konkan to Aurangabad, Jalna in the East.¹

SUBJECT MATTER.

The main divisions of the subject matter of the correspondence are the following.

i) Demand and supply of material things to the Swami and his dependants.

ii) Money matters, including mostly reminders and remittances of interests and capital sums.

iii) Letters about the vatan villages. These include litigation about grants, lands, revenue collection and agriculture. Offences in villages such as border disputes, adultery, thefts etc. also come under this head.

iv) Letters to and about the Swami and his dependants and their relations.

v) A few (hardly 2%) political letters in the form of newsletters to the Swami. Some of these letters are copies of Peshwas letters to Radhabai or Chimaji for perusal

1. R.III Pr. p.

of the Swami. Most of the political letters are from the pens of Chimajiappa, Bajirao and some members of the Peshwa family and the sardars of the Angres.

After the perusal of the vast correspondence it can now confidently be said that what Rajwade had remarked about the published letters only, applies to the whole correspondence viz. "that these letters are merely of ghee and oil."¹ But these letters are very important from the social point of view as they throw a considerable light on the social condition of that time in some of the villages. This social life is fully described in a separate chapter.

1. R.III Pr. P. 211.

APPENDIX D.

Chronology of Important Dates connected
with the life of the Swami.

| | | |
|-------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1649 | Birth of the Swami at Dudhadwadi in Aurangabad District. | SKBC p.1 |
| 1656-1657 | Thread ceremony. | |
| 1657-1660 | Primary instruction. | |
| 1660-1672 | Penance (Tapa) at Rajur | |
| 1669 Apr. 19 | Aurangzeb orders temple destruction throughout his realm; | |
| August | Vishwanath temple of Banaras destroyed. | |
| 1670 Jan. | Keshav temple of Mathura destroyed | SSHA p.489 |
| 1672 | The Siddi becomes Admiral of the Mughals. | SPS 1512 |
| 1672-1673 | The Swami at Kashi | SKBC p.2 |
| 1673-1685 | The Swami's pilgrimage | SKBC p.2 |
| 1686 | The Swami comes to Dhamani near Chiplun | PBC p.4 Footnote |
| 1686-1689 | The Swami occasionally tours in the Konkan for 'bhiksha'. | PBC p. 8 |
| 1689 March 11. | Execution of Sambhaji | SSHA p.310 |
| Oct. 19 | Fall of Raigad; Shahu becomes prisoner | SSHA p.312 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| 1690-98 | Persecution of Hindus by the Kaji of Dhamani The Swami renders some help to Chhatrapati Rajaram who bestows the village Dhamani upon the Swami. | PBCL 323 |
| | Bapuji and Santaji Bhonsale released by the Swami from the confinement of the Siddi through Balaji's efforts. | SAP p.414 PBCL 295 |
| | Balaji Vishwanath serving in the salt works at Chiplun. His brother who was Deshmukh served under Shahu. Sambhaji Mokashi, their friend was killed by the Siddi. | SPD 7/1,2,40 |
| 1689-1698 | Balaji Vishwanath holding posts in the Maratha state. Sarsubha of Poona. The Swami at Dhamani ate leaves of poisonous plant Kadwai. | BISMQ 22/1 SPD 30/1 PBCL 276 DCHM 12/1051 |
| | The Swami reveals himself at Parshuram. Bal Gauli sees the Swami in the jungle. | SKBCR p.2 |
| | Balaji Vishwanath & Mahadaji Ballal the Subhedar Sarkarkun come and see the Swami. | DCHM 12/1051 |
| | The Swami's contact with Balaji Vishwanath | Bharatvarsha p. II p.97 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| 1700 | The Swami's contact with Siddi Surur of Underi . | PBC p.25 BHJS p.62 |
| 1703-1704 | Kanhoji becomes Sarkhel | SMR CSPBV p.90 |
| 1704 Feb. | Death of Matabarkhan | SSHA p.353 |
| 1707 | Death of Siddi Kasam and accession of Siddi. Surur alias Badekhan The Swami goes to Bhiksha as far as Vishalgad. | BHJS p.63 PBC p. 8 |
| May | Shahu released from Mughal camp | SSHA p.359 |
| Oct. 12 | Battle of Khed. The Swami sends holy thread and loin cloth to Shahu who is near Chandan vandan | SKBC p. 5 SNHM II p.15 |
| 1708 | The Swami secures the grant of the villages Pedhe Ambdas from the Siddis Coronation of Shahu Reconstruction and repairs of the temple of Parshuram started by the Swami | PBC p.14 SNHM II p.16 DCHM 20/832 |
| 1710 | The Swami becomes a friend of Kanhoji Angre at Suvarnadurga. He advances a big sum as loan to Kanhoji. The Swami's contact with Parshuram pant Pratinidhi. | PBC pp.11-14 R.III 340,355 |

- 1710 Kanhoji captures a foreign ship on account of the aid given by the Swami (1500 hons and other things). The loot from this prize ship amounted to 9 lacs of rupees. PBCL 324
- 1714 Feb. 28 Treaty between Kanhoji and Shahu MPT p. 197
Kanhoji's first visit to Shahu SPD 7/21
- 1714-15 Treaty between Angre and the Siddi R. III Pr.
p. 153
- 1709 Mar. 23 Kanhoji's letter to Shahu enclosed SMR CSPBV
with goods sent to the latter. p. 92
- 1711 Revolt of Damaji Thorat, Chandrasen etc. SNHM II p. 10
- 1713 Suvarnadurga taken by the Siddi and SMR CSPBV
retaken by Kanhoji. p. 105
- Nov. 17 Balaji Vishwanath appointed Peshwa SNHM II p. 10
- 1715 First meeting of the Swami and BMDR I p. 121-12
Viroobai when the latter had come
for sea-bathing.
- 1718 The Swami secures the grant of 50 % PBC p. 14
revenue of the villages Dorle and
Mahalunge from the Pratinidhi.
- 1717 Balaji Vishwanath promises the Swami PBCL 19
the payment of 25 mohors.
- 1718 The Swami blessed Balaji Vishwanath DCHM 12/1049
before the latter's departure
to Delhi.

| | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 1718 Nov. | Marathas in Delhi to | SNHM II p.10 |
| 1719 July | | |
| 1717 | The Swami initiates (gives 'upadesha') Mathurabai at Kolaba. She is surprised. | R.III 294 |
| 1719 Dec. | Bajirao sends 41 mohors to the Swami from Wadi. Balaji grants the village Pimpri to the Swami | PBCL 114 SPD 7/33,54 (Appendix B) |
| 1717 - 1719 | The Swami advances a loan to Kanhoji which includes 18 horses, medallions, neclaces of putalies, and golden beads; Rs.60,000 net, 3000 hons, rich clothes, a pair of bullocks worth Rs. 300. | R.III 355 |
| 1718- 1720 | Balaji Vishwanath and the Swami request Kanhoji not to excommunicate Kramavants from the community Kanhoji beats a Brahmin. | DKA p.45, PBCL 328 |
| | Kanhoji brings Girja a concubine and home. | PBCL 328 |
| 1720 Apr. 12 | Death of Balaji Vishwanath | SNHM II p.10 |
| " 17 | Bajirao appointed Peshwa | SNHM II p.63 |
| Oct. Nov. | Sayyads wiped off. | SNHM II p.10 |
| 1721 | The Swami secures the grant of the villages Dhavadshi, Virmade and Anewadi from Chhatrapati Shahu. | PBC p.16 R.III Pr.p.158 |

| | | |
|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1721-1725 | Building of wells at Nimb, Viroobai asks for stone cutters from the Swami. | R.III 17 |
| 1725 | The Swami secures Pimpri from the Peshwa | PBC p.18 Foot note |
| 1726 | The Swami brings the elephant from | PBC pp.19-22 |
| Sept.Dec. | Savnur for Siddi Sad. | |
| 1727 | Siddi Sad's attack on Parshuram. | DCHM 12/1036 |
| Feb.9 | The Siddi harasses the Swami. The Swami sends his clerks to the Desha. | PBC p.27 |
| 1728 March | The Swami meets Shahu at Dhavadshi | PBCL 201. |
| June | The Swami comes to Parshuram | PBC p.26 |
| March | Mulana Hussen harasses Bapu Joshi at Pedha. | PBC pp.28-29 DCHM 20/756 834 |
| 1726 | Siddi's letter of permit to the | PBC p.23 |
| Novr.11 | Swami. | |
| 1727 | Nizam joined by Sambhaji attacks | SNHM II |
| Oct.Dec. | Shahu's territory. | p. 84 |
| 1727 Nov. | The Swami's letter to Bajirao relating all his grievances. | PBC p.29 DCHM 20/834 |
| 1728 | Grant of Gothana | DCHM 20/596 |
| Sept.22 | | PBC p.33 |

| | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1729 June | Capture of Palgad by Kanhoji |) | |
| July 4 | Death of Kanhoji |) | SNHM II. p. 133 |
| July 21 | Sekhoji becomes Sarkhel |) | |
| 1728 Feb. | Nizam declares Sambhaji | | SNHM II |
| | Chhatrapati at Poona ravages | | p. 84 |
| | Poona territory. Shahu and | | |
| | Chimajiappa take shelter at | | |
| | Purandhar. | | |
| Nov 29 | Battle of Amjhera. Giridhar and | | SNHM II |
| | Dayabhadur killed. | | p.84 |
| Dec. | Nizam starts to help Dabhade | | SNHM II |
| | | | p.84 |
| 1731 | Battle of Dabhai. Trimbakrao | | SNHM II |
| April 1 | Dabhade killed. | | p. 109 |
| 1731 | The Swami's letter to Sekhoji | | R.III 249 |
| May 25 | Angre about the battle of | | |
| | Dabhai. The Swami writes, | | |
| | " Might is right". | | |
| 1729 | Jagannath Chimnaji granted 20 | | R.III 245 |
| Sept.15 | bighas land at Karjuve. | | |
| 1730 | Bajirao promises Ramchandra | | |
| Jan.28 | Raghunath Kavle that he is also | | |
| | thinking of punishing the | | |
| | Portuguese. | | |

- 1731 Jan. Sambhaji calls himself Sarsubha
of Maratha Armada.
- May 25 The Swami's letter to Sekhoji about the battle of Dabhai saying 'might is right' and Sekhoji's reply 'coming events cast their shadows'. R.III 249
- 1731-1732 Sekhoji and Sambhaji go to Satara. March SMR CSPB p.140 PBC 252
- 1732 Feb . 12 Bajirao-Sekhoji meet at Kolaba 20 Sekhoji dismisses havaldar of Poornagad for stealing the Swami's jackfruit. R.III 244
- 1733 Jan. The Swami demands extra concessions for the sea side cultivable lands at Gothana.
- The Swami writes to Sambhaji, " I left Konkan because of your father's maltreatment. You insulted me as Drupada insulted Drona." PBCL 315
- The Swami reminds Sambhaji of Kanhoji's loan and threatens him. The Swami offers to get the loan paid back in kind. PBCL 312.

- 1733 Jan. Sambhaji snatches away the rug, gun PBCL 313,
Contd. and flag of the Swami and insults
him. 322.
- Sambhaji grants the Deshmukhi of PBCL 328
Asole to Anantprabhu, Krishnambhat's
(the Swami's favourite) rival.
- April Bajirao starts the offencive in
the Janjira campaign.
- May 10 Death of Siddi Surur, the Chief PBC p.49
Siddi of Janjira.
- May The Pratinidhi and others come
to Konkan.
- June 8 Pratinidhi takes Raigad . PBC p.50
- July 7 Shahu sends orders to Umabai PBC p. 50
and Damaji for coming to Janjira.
- July 8 Battle of Govalkot.
- Aug.28 Death of Sekhoji Angre
- Dec. 5 Manaji's secret treaty with the PBC p. 57
Siddi.
The Swami offers to the Queens his PBCL 10
his willingness to negotiate with
the English.

- 1734 Feb.10 Sambhaji writes to the Swami that everything was spoiled by the division in their house. PBC p. 57
- Jan.10 Siddi Amber Afwani killed by Udaji Pawar at Raigad. The Swami congratulates Udaji.
- Mar. 8 Bankot in Maratha hands.
- June 14 Grant of Malshiras from the Sachiva. R.III 93
PBC p.93
The Paramhansa holds grand rejoic-
-ings on hearing the news of the meeting between the Peshwa and the Nizam. SPD 10/85
- 1735 Feb. Treaty and partition of Navdara. SNHM 160
April.
- Dec.5 Bankot recaptured by the Siddi. SNHM 160
- 1736 Apr. 19 Battle of Charahi Karmarlen. PBC p.60
Death of Siddi Sad.
- 1737 Feb.2 The Swami offers Rs.50,000 and 400 khandis of rice to Sambhaji Angre if he would invest Anjanwel and Govalkot forts. R.III 275
- 1737 Mar.31 The Swami's benediction for the success of Bassein. PBCL 47
- 1737 Rebuilding of the temple of Bhuleswar. SMR CSPB p.251

| | | |
|--------------|--|---------------------|
| 1739 Jan. 12 | Venketrao Ghorpade attacks Goa. | |
| 15 | Capture of Madgaon by Venketrao. | |
| May 5 | Surrender of Bassein | SNHM p. 162 |
| Mar. 7 | Nadirshah arrives at Delhi | SNHM II p. 161 |
| 1740 Apr. 28 | Bajirao dies at Raiverkhedi. | SNHM II p. 162 |
| Aug. | Death of Chimnajipant Bhagwat | SMR CSPB p. 368 |
| Dec. 17 | Death of Chimaji | SNHM p. 191 |
| June 25 | Balaji Bajirao invested with robes of Peshwaship. | |
| 1742 Jan. 12 | Death of Sambhaji Angre | SNHM II p. 227 |
| 1743 | Tulaji Angre becomes Sarkhel | SNHM II p. 227 |
| 1743-1744 | Appaji Angre's supremacy. | PBCL 201- 202. |
| 1745 | Reconstruction of the temple of Rajur. | R.III 9 |
| 1745 | Tulaji captures Govalkot and | R.III 9 |
| Jan. 15 | Anjanwel. the | |
| 1745 July 26 | Death of/ Swami. | SMR CSPB p. 243. |

स्वामी व जिहो

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०।७७३

सन १७३१-३२

आनंप आकरम गोसावी परम्पराम मुकाम घावळसी दाम मोहवत हू

अज दिले खेलास सिंगी हिलाल कृलेदार कोट गोक्कु ठाणे चिप्पूण स्लाम बादज स्लाम सैर झंजाम महव कराय सुाा सन अंगन्ने स्लासीन म्या व अस्क (अ. स. १७३१-३२) आके येतील सैर स्ला जाणून गोहीबी आफली सुद्धुजी हमेशा लिहित अस्ले पाहिजे. दिगर पुकीजाजी अबुल रहिमान कलद जेव झेमद तकीया माव हे पेन्नी मोहिबाचे मुकाक्तीस मोहरम्बे माहम्ब्ये गेले होते. त्यास मोहिबाजवळ अर्ज केला की दरबंदगी पादझासाहेबाक्कून चवदा आणे रोज चालू असे. व झाराजाक्कून दोन ठाणे चिप्पूण ही बंदरावर व साही क्रिये जमीन मोने क्लोदे ताा चिप्पूण येतील चालत असे, व नवाब साहेबाक्कून दोन आणे रोज व दोन संडी मात चिप्पूण माहालावर आज तलग चालत आहे. अण सेलोजी आंग-या याकडील काही पावत नाही. यासि साहेब फेरवान होइून आफली सर्फराजी केली पाहिजे.

अर्ज केला यावरन तुम्ही फेरवान होइून मोहीबी यादनामा आफलेजवळ लेइून घेतला असे की वे आणे रोज चिप्पूणावर व दीड क्रिया जमीन येथे करार करन याज याद देणार म्हणोन अर्ज सादर त्यास ते तो या राहीले सेलोजी आंगरे सातारीयास आले त्यावरती तीक्कून घावळसीस येतील. त्यास निा प्रमाणे अर्ज करन कुलाबा जाणे बंदेव्या असते त्याही मोहीबानी म्या केल्या असेत तरी याची सनद जमीन असते त्यावरावर आंगरे मूत्य जाले सादर क्ले .

मी

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. १२१९६

सन् १७२८

राजशीया विराजित राजमान्य राजभी घोडोपंत काका वडोलांचे
सेकेसी

मेहक केळजी भास्कर यां नपस्कार किंति येऊल सेष तां छ ।
रम्जान पाकेतो स्वामीचे दमेहून सेकळाचे कृष्णान यथाप्रित असे यानंतर श्रीम्यालीचे
कृष्णान्नबापुजोसी यास अनणकेलीस नेले होते. येशास आण्ही लिहिले यावरनन
छ । रम्जानी रजा घेझून छ । रम्जानी घरास आला. त्याचा चारसे इनपयाचा
क्तवा सुमा राहिला आहे. त्याकरिता कागद अनणकेली आन छ
मारी रवाना होआल. पुढे काये कृष्णान होआल ते लेहोन पाठवू. वरकड
बापुजोसी आला तेव्हा गाव तुम्हास करावा येसे नाले होते त्यावरी श्रीआंगनेने
आन्याकेतो थोपायेप जाली आहे गावामध्ये मुळनाची प्रुक्लता बहुत जाली आहे.
सुमाहून त्याणे असे लेहून दिलहे जे आसामी आठनणास रोखा आणिला
आहे. या प्रसंगी म्हादानीपंत आले असते तर मुपाये नव्हता आम्हास सुमान्याचे
येसे मुळनाने क्लेहोते. परंतु नासवा कास्कर याणे वारावार केली म्हणून वहिवाढून
गेले विदोत जाले पाहिजे बहुत काय लिहिये, कृपा सर्वदा केली पाहिजे हे किंति.

मी

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. ७४। ^{२०/}

अनम अकरम धारोनी सिदे नामनाद किले रसाऱ्गड दाम माहाकृत हू
अगी दिल ऐक्लास सेल अवकू ओबाजी हवालदार तां खेड तलवटी स्लाम
ब्रादज स्लाम महकू मक्सद आकी सुआ असन्ने असरीन मिया व अलपन येतील

सैरस्ला जाणोन आफला सैरस्ला हस्तडी लिहीन असाले पाहिजे. दिगर सरकारी गळ्हाचा दरकार झ्ये सतान घाटाकर तांदूळ रवाना करनन गहू आणाव्यासी बैल रवाना केले आहेत. त्यासी घासीखान नमातदार या ब्राकर बैल मुा २१ पंचवीस मरनन गहू घाटाकरनन येतील आण जीकडून तांदूळ मरनन जातील त्यासी जाता येता तुम्हाकडून कोणी नकातीबाबे मुबारीक होगील तर हो^न देणे सिपाही यासी चिठी पाठवू देणे. गळ्हाचा दरकार जाह्ला झ्ये. सा मुमा हजुराचा हुक्म आला तेथून माहाली ही हुक्म आला असे नाव्यूप देणे. ज्यादा काढे लिहिजे. प्यार माहाकल असो. दीने रा छ २१ नवाक्लिंजर हे किताबत .

फारसी सीका

मोर्त्तम सूद

श्री

ड. कॉ. ऐ. सं. ३०।०७१

आजम अक्षय ब्रह्मेंद्र गोसावी बाबा मुक्काम घावळी दाम मोहकत हू .

अन दिले अेळास सिंदी शिलाल मुक्काम राजपुरी स्लाम बादज म्लाम सैर अंजाम महवळ यानन आके येणील सैर म्लाला जाणोन आफला सैर म्लाला कलमी कराव्यास फर्मावीत अस्ले पाहिजे. दिगर मोहिंब दूर होते असीयास नानेबास अहुचा दरकार लागला अनी सबव गणेजपंत परजारामी होते त्याजवळ सन क्लासवे असेहीस अहुकडल इनपये १० पाठाक्ले होते. असीयास घासधुमीचा माम्ला जाह्ला सबव पैसे व झु तैसेच राहिले. अनी सबव मोहिंब्यास सत मरकूम केले आहे. तरी मोहिंबी गणेजपंत (फाळे) हुक्म फर्माकिंवा मोहिंब ल्हे असेत. दराज काय लिहिजे प्यार मोहकत असो दिली पाहिजे . हे किताबत.

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०।७८३

१७२६ पूर्वी ।

दिलपाक किरदर्या मोहाही मोहकत सिली संमूल मुआ नंजिरा बुपर ताजा
व दौलत हूँ ।

अनिवादगोये वदांडी ऐथील सैरस्ला नाणकून आफला सैरस्ला हमेजा लिहाक्यास
फर्मावीत असीले पाहिजे. दिगर मेहरचे नजरेने किताक्त पाठक्ली ते पोहचेन
किल आराम नाले. कळमी क्ले ने पेत्र अनी मोहीबी हुनूर व झांजानेबास किताक्ती
पाठक्लिया होत्या त्याचे नवाब मोहीबास लिहोन गेले यापासोन आनलग काहीच
नवाब साल मरकूम केला नाही. हे दोस्तीचे जागा कळीम नसे. हमेजा साहीत
सत बहुत रँझ महक्तीची तरकी करावी म्हांखिव आहे. ऐसास परज्ञरामास अव्यक्त
मोनीब येबून राहाक्याचा फिरादा आहे म्हणून मोहीबाचा पैगाम किंवारु जोनी
व कृष्ण सेट सेटे कर्यात चिपऱ्य याचे ज्वानीवरनन जाहीर जाला. त्यावरनन
हुनूर अने पोहचाकून मोहीबास ठिकाणचे ठिकाणी याक्या बाबेचा व अव्यक्त झीनामत

होते ते पोहीबा आले या बादल मोहीबाकडे चालवावयाचा हुक्म घेबून क्लमे
क्ले जात असे. वाचे हुनरनन मोहीबास सत करसूल असे. त्यावरनन मालूम होआल.
तर मोहीबी सातीरज्ञा रासोन कोणे नावे जक्किक न होअून परज्ञरामी ठिकाणचे
ठिकाणी येबून सुवरनप अक्ल मोनीब राहीले पाहीजे. मोहीबाचे पेत्र अनी मोनीबाघर
येक बाबेने चालक्ले जाआल. नपनाक्त घेणार नाही. दरीबाब सुमा ऊंजक्लीस
ही हुक्म माहऱ्य नाला असे. म्हणून कळमी क्ले येशास गत साली हुनूर व तुम्हास
किताक्त पाठक्ली त्यात ने नाली हक्किक्त ते लिहोन पाठक्ली होती. बडे
सा प्रापा आमचे चालक्यास आपले ठिकाणास येबून येसे लिहिले होते त्यास आमचे

मानरनप सतनाब हृनूर न आला याजकरिता बेदील होऱ्हन राहीलो हाळी पैगाम्ही
वो ठिक झाला. मागेन पाठकिला नाही. त्यास आपण मेहरचे नजरेने
अक्ल बहेलान प्रा चालकून अंतर न पडे घ्हणून कलमी केले याहून अधिक काय आहे ?
तुमचे दिलात आम्ही यावे येसे असेल तर अलबता येऱ्हन परंतु फ्ली गैरहंगाम आहे व
ज्याचे बंदगी करीतो तो दिक्षत येऱ्हन त्याचा हृकूम जालीयाची डोऱ्हीचे वाटेने येऱ्हन
आफ्ले ठिकाणी राहोन मालूम जाले पाहिजे. जमाबमाय लिा परंतु मोहब्बत
मेहरचा पन्ध अव्कल व म्हे साफ मिरावर असो दिलहे पाहिजे. हे किताबत .

हृ

डे. कॉ. शे, सं. २०।७५७

आजम म्हरम गोसावी मुकाम घावहजी दाम मोहब्बत ह. अज दिले असलास
सिदी साद शुभेदार स्लाम बादज स्लाम सैर अंजाम आंके ऐरील सैरसल्ला जाणून
मोहिब्बी आफ्ला सैरसल्ला क्लमी मरकूम करीत असले पाहिजे. दिगर, मोहिब्बी
किताबत पाठकिली ते नेकवक्ती पोहचेन लुपकर्ती (फाळे)
किताबत पाठकून स्वार अत्र घेत असले पाहिजे. अंगूर पक्के कम दहा बेर पाठकिले
असेत घ्हणून कलमी केले. व अंगूरही येऱ्हन पोहचले. मोहिब्बी तवज्ज्ञे कस्त
पाठकिले ते क्षुत सूष असेत. शीजानेबाची (पाळे) केले असेत.
मोने डोरले व गावऱ्हे ऐरील सहा रनपये गोंदजी कांवरे याने केले होते. त्याक्कून
आले नसेत त्याचे बाले कलमी केले. त्यावरनन हल्ली सदरहू सहा रनपये त्याक्कून
वकूल घेऱ्हन मोहिब्बाक्के पाठकिले असेत. कौवरडी गाववे रम्हीस (कैल) बाव्या-
बाले लिहिले त्यावरनन तक्केत कौलही दिलहा असे. दोस्तीचे जागा मोहिब्बाचे ठाडी
हरेक बाले तजावज होडील औसे नसे. दरान काय लिहिजे; प्यार मोहब्बत असो
दिली पाहिजे. छ ११ रम्जान ही किताबत.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०।७६८

आजम अकरप गोसावी मुकाम धावळी दाम मोहवत झू.

अन दिले खेलास सिरी साद सुमेदार स्लाम बादज स्लाम खेर अंबाम आके
येठील सैरस्ल्ला जाणून मोहिव्ही आपला सैरस्ल्ला क्लमी परकूम करोत अस्ले पाहिजे.
दिगर चंदरोजी मोहिव्ही किताबत पाठक्ली ते नेकवक्ती पोहचोन सुन्नवक्ती हासील
जाह्यात. क्हुता रोजी मोहिव्ही मेहरबानी करनन याद केली. क्हुत सूब झ्से.
ओंजानेछ्ही मोहिव्हाची मेहरबानीच चाहूत झ्सो. येचवजा दलरस्त सत किताबत
पाठकून जादमानी पोहचावीत अस्ले पाहिजे. झकर व झारे दस १० पाठक्ली
ती पोहच्की. अंगूर तवरग जाह्ये नाही स्फृणून क्लमी क्ले तर अंगूरावर काय आहे.
मोहिव्हाची मेहरबानी आहे. ते बद्दास पोहचत झ्से. दाज काय लिहिजे.
प्यार मोहव्हत झ्सो दिली पाहिजे. ११ छ २६ जिलकाद हे किताबत.

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डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०।१२३२

आजम अकरप गोसावी परज्ञराम हाली मुकाम धावळी दाम मोहवत ६.

अन दिले खेलास सिरी साद सुमेदार स्लाम बादज स्लाम खेर अंबाम सुा
सन स्लासीन म्या व आलपन. आंके येठील सैरस्ल्ला जाणून आपला सैरस्ल्ला क्लमी
करीत अस्ले पाहिजे. दिगर मोहिव्ही किताबत पाठकून आपला सैरस्ल्ला क्लमी
सुन्नवक्ती हासिल नाली. ऐसीच हरधडी किताबत पाठकून आपला सैरस्ल्ला क्लमी
करनन जादमानी पोहचावीत अस्ले पाहिजे. गोजे होरले व न्हाणुगे यावर झाप
व काथा तेलयाचा रोसा देणून व्हातदाराही तगादा करनन तेलाबाबत छतीस रनपये

घेत्ले. झाप सुंबाची ताकीद केली आहे, न्हणून लिहिले. तर झाप सुंबयाचा तर सुमाहून रोसाब जाह्ला नसे. तेलाची सिस्त पावस माहाली जाहाली तेळ्हां कृष्णाची शिवाची फडणीस यास आजार झाला होता. सबव दुसरे कारकुनाही सिस्त करिता तर्फे फळूरचे भेंद्र गावण्या पुमाणे केली. यामुळे मोहिब्बाचे गावाची उंकोन पढी पढली असे. त्यास हाली मोहिब्बी कळमी केले त्यावरनन सातरेस आणिता सरेदी तेलाचा तो वळू सरकारी आला असे. त्यास पेस्तर साली सम्बोन घेतसे नागील. वारड झाप काखेयाची तो सिस्त जाह्ली नाही. मोहिब्बी लिहिले त्यावरनन देशकास व तहसीलदारास म्हांगीची ताकीद लिहिली असे. मोहिब्बी बंगूर ढाली । अके तकनेकरनन पाठक्ली ते पोहळक्ली. दरान काय लिहिने. प्यार मोहब्बत असे किंवा पाहिने. रा व १० माहे १८८० मध्यान हे किताबत.

डे. कॉ. डै. स. २०।७६१.

अन्य अकरम गोसावी परंपराम मुकाम धावडी दास मोहब्बत दू.

अगी दिल ऐस्लास सिंही साद सुमेदार स्लाम बादज स्लाम सेर अंगाम सुा स्लासीन मिया व झलफ आके फैरील सैरमला जाणून आफला सैरमला कसमी केला पाहिने. दिगर किताबत पाठक्ली ते नेकवक्त पोहळेन सुमवळी जाह्ली. औंसीच हरवक्त सत किताबत कळमी करनन शादमानी पोहळावीत अस्ते पाहिने. कळमी केले की नयराम शिंपी याणे अवल सगांधा गोर्णा मुट्ठकर सिंपी यास करार करनन किंवा वाठोन चोळी लुगाहे नेसाक्ले असे. हे आम्हास मालूम असे. औंसे असोन हाली गोवळकर सिंपी सगांधा देषे म्हणोन दखावितो. त्यास म्हांची देखून जयराम. शिंपी यास तकवीयत सादर केलीयाने तो आरामजीर राहील. तपसीले लिहिले ते जाहीर जाह्ले. मोहिब्बाचे लिहिलेवरनन गोवळकर शिंपी यास म्हांची जयराम

तिपी यास तक्कीयत सादर केली आहे. परजमाळी चाकर याची बेठी लखना, माळी कांग चिपळुण यास थाव्यास केली. आणि विडे व वस्ताही घातल्या. त्यास निवा माळी अंगनकेलीस असतो. सगांची माझी म्हणौन दबवितो. त्यास म्हाचिठी किंवा पाहिजे म्हणून क्लीभी केले. त्यावरनन नीवा माळी यासी सगांचीचे वाटेस न जावे म्हणौन ताकीद सादर केली असे. दरान काय लिहिणे. प्यार मोहब्बत असो दिली पाहिजे. रा छ २० जावान हे किताबत.

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डे.कॉ.डै.सं. २०।७६६

दिलपाक दिलचर्या झिलाही मेहरबान सिदी साद वडेबाबा सुमेदार पांत दामोळ व राजापूर अुमर ताजा व दोलतजाद हू. अन दु आ गो - दाअमी ऐमील सैरस्ला नाणून तां छ ११ निलहेज मुकाम घावहस्ती तुमचे मेहरबानी सुझाल असो . दिगर गोने अंबऱ्यास येथे धोडनी गणेश चाकर आम्हाननीक होता. तो म्यत नाला. त्याची बाघ्यो गोकळकोटास घरनन सया बाकरी यास बाघ्यो करनन दिली. दाम्भी फाजील मानेन्द्र नामनाद गडी गोकळ याणी लसा मोहिता पेहगामच्ये जेवीवर कुणबी होता तो घरनन चाकर क्वाव्यास नेला. या घास्तीने आन आगोटीचे दिवस पेरे क्राव्याचे ठाकूर हरसू गाव पढोन अुपर आले. अम्हा तुम्हास चाकरास अुंचे काय आहे . फकीरावर मेहरबानी करनन नामनाद सुमेदार यास फर्मावून लसा मोहिता कुणबी नेला आहे सोळून थावा हरदु गावचे वाटेस नव जावे असा हृकूम केलीयास गावात पेरा काहीं होशील नाहीतर आन गाव हरदु अुनाड होतात. मातूम व्हावे याज - करिता लिहिले आहे. आम्हो दुआ गो तुमचे असो. लहूत लहूत प्यार असो दिला पाहिजे. ज्यादा काय लिहिणे. हे किताबत.

दे. कॉ. औ. सं. २०।७६४.

११ मार्च १७३०.

अजम उकरम गोसावी मुकाम धावडसी दाम मोहब्बतू ।

अनि दिल येलास स्त्री साद मुवेदार सलाम बादन सलाम खेर अन्याम,
सुदूरसन सलासीन मिया व अयन आंके येथील खेरसला जाणेन मोहीबी गापला
खेरसला हमेशा कलमी करीत असीले पाहिजे. दिगर किताबत छ २१ ज्ञावानची
पाठविली ते नेवत बारोद होऱ्यून लुश्वनती किसीयार नाहाली तेथें कलमी केले
कीं पेशी किताबत पाठविली ते पोहचलीच असेल म्हणेन लिहिले तरी ते किताबत
येशून पोहचली त्याचा नवाब स्वाल मोहीबाकडे पाठविला तो नाहून पावलाच
असेल. येसेच हरवत कलमी करन ज्ञादमानी पोहचावीत गेले पाहिजे. व कलमी
केले कीं पेठे व आंबद्य डिनामगांव दिल्ये असा त्यांचे हरयेकबाबे चालविता अंमा
येथील चांबार वाणी सोनार परांदा होऱ्यून गेले असेहत त्यास कोळ देशून गावचे
गावी येशून राझात येसे केले पाहिजे. म्हणेन लिहिले त्यावरन न माळूम नाहाले
व महादनी माठल्या मोहीबाकडील याणीं सोनाराची व चांबाराची व वाणीयाची
नावनिसी सांगितली ते सोनिख त्यास कोळ देशून मोहीबानीक रवाना केले असेत.
तरी त्यास गावचे गांवी आण्यून वसाहत करविली पाहिजे त्याचे हरयेक बाबे
चालविले नाझील व नयेराम सिंपी याचे समावीक हक्कित लिहिली तरी पेशी
मोहीबी कलमी केले होतें त्यावरन नयेराम सिंपी यासी कोळ व तुसेट मोवलकर
सगांवीबाबे तगादा न करणे म्हणेन ताकीद चिठी देशून पाठविली असे ते मोहीबा-
नीक पोहचली असेल. व परसमाढी यास सगांवी चियतुणचे माढी याची केली आहे.
ते सगांवीबाबे निवा माढी चाकर दिमत स्त्री सालिमठबुस चियतुणचे माढी यास
दबवितो म्हण्यून जवल मोहीबी लिहिले होते तेव्हा तेव्हा व्हती मोहीबाबे लिहिलेवरन न
निवा माढी मज्जूर यासी मनाचिठी दिली असे. तरी अवल सगांवी परसमाढी यासी

वावयाची करार केली आहे. तेच मेंजिब करार कसन बदाहा करविला पाहिजे. व कलमीं केले कीं येका सरदारानें आम्हास नगारे नोढी दिली आहे त्यास - सांघावयासी रेडीयाची कातडी दिली तरी नगारे सांघळु म्हणेन लिहिले. तरी हाली चामडी लगेयाची देत होतो अंमा मुळेन जया देतील लगे तेथे पाठवावे तर ते कामास न ये याळ्याल नगारे पेढे यास पाठ्यून देणे तेथे चांबार पाठ्यून चामडी देवळून नगारे सांघविले जातील झार चामडीच पाठवाव्या बाबे मेंहिबाचे सातीरेस येऊल तरी तेसेच पाहिजे. चामडीस मेंहिबानक्कि पाठ्यून देखून यामध्ये जैसे म्वाफिक येऊल तेसे लिहिले पाहिजे. दिगर मोहीबी तवजे कसन अंगूर डाली व संपर्कीर्ती डाळिबे ७ सात पाठविली तो पोहचली. व पेशी अंगूर डाली पाठक्की तेही पोहचली गितबारा मोहीबी मेहरबानी कसन अंगूर तो बहुत पाठविले ते चीच नाहाले. दराज काये लिहिणे प्यार महबत असे दिली पाहिजे. रा। छ २ रसज्जान हे किताबत.

एकत्र

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डॉ. कौ. ऐ. सं. २०। ७६२ अ

२७ जून १७२१.

अनम अकरम गोसावी मुकाम परश्वराम दाम माहबतहू ।

अनी दिल मेलास स्थिरी साद मुवेदार सलाम सेर अंगाम सुदूरसन सलासीन मिमा व अलम. आको येथील सैरसला नाश्वून आपला सैरसला कलमे करात असीले पाहिजे. दिगर किताबत पाठविली ते पोहचेन लिहिला मजमून अया नाहला. आपले ठिकाणास आले म्हण्यून लिहिले तरी सुव असे. सेनेयाचे ताट दिले माचा काठ (ही) मोडून घेतले याने बोमा पावेल कीं काये म्हणेन लिंग. तरी ताट कोणी दिले, आणि काठ कोणी मोडून घेतला हे अया होत नये. तुम्ही फिरावयास नाश्वूला गलेत तेव्हा आमची मुलाकात घेण्यून आपले चालवावे म्हणेन किंतु बोलीले ते मोरीब आमचे दिल साफ्य असतां तुम्ही येसी बोलीचाली ल्यावीत कोण मनासिब असे

किताबत मले मलांगीची अगर काही काज्काय असले तरी त्या मनमुनाची
ल्याहावीत. येसी ताणेबानी ल्याहावीत वाजिब नसे. जे नागा
येसे तुमचे लिहिणे खुश येत असेल तेथेच ल्याहाकेत. फेर येसे बळीचेळीचा
कागद ना लिहिणे. मले मलांगीचा अगर काही काज्काय असेल तर त्या चा
लिहित नाऱ्ये. दराज काये लिहिणे १ रात छ ११ माहे निलहेज.

श्री

डे.कॉ.बै.सं. २०।७७०.

१३ जून १७२३.

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गणेश बळाठ कारकून दिमत अनम गोसावी मु ॥ परज्ञराम म।। दू
अनी सिद्दी साद सुमेदार सलास सुमा आर्णा सलासीन मिया व बळम अनम
गोसावी यांचा गला ते नागा दास्तान असे त्यास अनम बळांगी नाओीक
माहाडिक यांगीं गोसावी मारनीलेस लिहिले असे कीं आपण स्वारीस
नाषार त्यास परज्ञरामचा गला आपणांस खर्चास देवीला पाहिजे. पेस्तर
आदा करनन म्हणून लिहिले त्यावरनन मला त्यास देवीला आहे म्हणून
नाहीर होत असे. तरी त्यास खुसना गला देणार तो आम्हास दिल्हा
तरही पेस्तर त्याचा त्यास आदा केला नाहील. तरी गला असेल तो
बिळुल मोजदाद करनन केट गोवळून आदमी नातील त्याचे हवाले करैं.
पेस्तर गोसावी यांस गला आदा केला नाहील. रात छ ११ मोहरम हे
किताबत.

स्वामी व गंगे.

डे. का. बे. सं. २०१९९६.

सन् १७२९.

श्री नक्षत्र

राजभी प्रतापजी गाले गुहे नामनाद जंगोरे विजये दुर्गं गोसाथी यासि.

अस्त्रिं लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजभान्य वा॑ कान्हेयो गंगो सरसेल दु। तोसा
वपरीन म्या व द्विष्ट श्रीमंत वरकहोस गोसाथीवाक्या यास मेजे गोठवेता॥। राजापूर
हा गाव दोबात दिल्हा झेते न्योन नीरा येत वायावीत व नस्त जावा पढीले
पान जो जावार होवील तो विनापत लर्ख लिहीत जाणे केवेविसी लक्ष्मीस लागो
न देणे। उ ३० सप्तर गोत्वं।

श्रीमार्गवराम

डे. का. बे. सं. २०१९९२

२२-१- सन् १७२९-१०२०

श्रीमंत मृगुल्दन स्वरम्प परमहंस आवा स्वामीचे सेवेसी.

चरणराज सोमा म्यादीसंवन्न संहुदाळो कृतानेक विज्ञापना विनेती. येथील
कुळ ऐव गुण झाठी उंटुवार जाणून भवानंद कुम्हल लिहाव्यासी वाघा करवार स्वामी
सम्बं आहेत. विजेत. स्वामीने आजापत्रे तुलाजी लेल्या व सोनगी कदम याकारावारी
पाठविली ती मस्तां वंदून स्वेच्छा नाहला येसेच सदेव उसीर्वादपत्रीं परामर्ज कराव्यासि
स्वामी आहेत विजेत. पाहाराज राजभी क्षातारीयाहून स्वामीचे नेटीस गाले त्यासी
दर्जन देवून भेटीचे तुळाहावा स्वेच्छा नाहला त्याचे वृत सविस्तर ठिहिले तें क्लोन -
आनंद नाहला. धरकड स्वामीने वाघा नेती त्याचे गुरु

कलिमे सोनवी कदम यान
भराबरा रवाना कर्णे महून
आज्ञा नाहली त्यावरनन कुञ्जा
हून कलिमे देई ३ व
मानजी
४ वेसे ३ तीन लीङ्गास
कलिमे सा सात
नातील. ती रवाना करिली
आहेत

नारु व केन रवाना करावासि
आज्ञा नाहली आहे त्या प्रा
रवाना करीतो.

बोधी वस्त्रे जाला आहेत ती
वारून नोंगेनी ठेक्ये महून
आज्ञा. आज्ञामा कर्जुक करीत.
भाळी मोहृषाची १ व भावी
मागाहून रवाना करीतो.

वासे व तुलशी रवाना
करावासी आज्ञा नाहली
त्यावरनन राज्यो संभावी
सिदे यासि रसालफडी
लिहून पाठविले आहे. तुलशी
व वासे मुस्तेद करनन मोहूनी ॥
व्याख्या स्वामीस लिहून पाठवितील.

काष्ठ लोटे तुम्हास
रवाना करावासि पाठविला
तो रवाना करीतो.

सासी काष्ठ आहेत त्यापैकी
पाठविले महून आज्ञा त्यावरनन
सोनवी कदम याज्यलो दिले
आहेत. पाने मुा
१० दालतावादी
११ गोवेडी
१० चीनाजी तांबडी
११

मेळून ११ पाने पाठविली आहेत.

मेळे प्रा स्वामीने आज्ञा केली त्याचे तुतर सेवेसी शूत देअे हे विज्ञापना.

श्रीमार्गवराम

दे. वॉ. डे. सं. २०।९४०

श्रीमंत परमहंस रखामी भांडी पर्णनिर्मल पांगाळ मातुधी भृत्याक्षी स
आज्ञा ऐलो येसाजे. तुम्हास सम्लाद तारन सापडले झणून आवी विले जा सापडले
अमेल तरी तुम्ही तुम्ही अरवी पासेठी झांसा रनपयामच्यें आ नाहास पाहिजे
रनपये पाटवावे. तरी तुम्ही तुम्ही कांडीं पेशा रक्का सालादेविली तुफ्ये
मुक्कास गळवार्तीपासून दोन तीन वेळा लिहिले होते. त्यास हातास आठियावर
पाठ्युन झणून जाव आला होता. त्यास तुम्हेने तो मर्येन न देवे याज्ञवितां -
झिरंवावास तुम्ही लिहान तेथील परबानगी आपून तुम्ही सम्लाद त्रिंभर रक्का पासेठी
पारागाज पाठ्युन देने आणि रक्का पाठविल्यास तुम्हीच दिल्यास जावास येअल. ऐसे
अमेले तरी लिहान पाठ्युन रोत रनपये इंगा पाठ्युन देतो. पण सालादि वावी
पाठ्युन दें याचे तुम्हार नाय ते लिहिले पाहिजे.

दे. वॉ. डे. सं. २०।९५५

श्री

श्रीमत सालतीर्थवरानपव्ही
परमहंस वावा रखामीचे जेवेसी

उपर्यें सेवानी आंगो सरमेल वृत्तानेक साढांय टंडक्का प्रवाम तिनंसि ऐथील
उश्छुल तारा भ्रादपद वहुल पंचमी सैन्यवासापयंत रखामीचे वृषादृष्टीकडून समस्त
तुम्हारप ज्ञेय. रखामीकडील यश आले नव्हते त्यावरान खोत जोआन्याये
मार्गीन प्रतीक्षा वरीत असतां पन व तन झुपतो सालारा जर त्यालो पूर्ण पूर्णभेस तुदव
लेडून (अर्जुन)

मन १७१०-११.

किंतु योराते समाधान होतून अमुदीं नोक्कन विकास केला ते आनंद
 पाठ्येचे साम्यसेस अप्रया काय योगाळी याखूपरी याच न्याये सदैव आँखादात्मक
 परिका प्रेष्ट अपत्याका सांपाळ रात्रया स्वामी खडोउ आहेत. डोरले माहात्म्ये
 याचे पारपत्य न होतां दर्जन होत नाहीं व तत्प्रसीपे संजानी राजे याचा ज्ञान
 काय होडोउ ते पाइने व बंदूक मुखादला न पाठ्यिलो व नारन इरकारा या
 वरावरील पराला मस्तुद यालाला व घावडसीचे तल्याचे कानास छिक, वाय,
 ताय, पाठ्येचे भवेन ब्राह्मा भेजास वापले जाझेविना दुसरे बधिरोतर काय आहे ।
 डोरले माहात्म्याचा अभीमान स्वामींनी ब्राह्मपूर्णे केला ते पासून असावा ते
 आहे. सांप्रत राजदर्शनाऱ्या यातारायास जायें येता विकार योतून जाळा आहे
 तेथे नेत्यावरी सर्व सारस्य स्वादून त्वा प्रसंगीं हाही पक्कुर रुनन पारपत्य
 करीतो यांत किमपि संगम न मानावा व विज्ञालगडमास पनवीत वरणे ते तेपून
 करीतो ये गोटीय सेवायासून बंतर पडवार नाहीं. घावडसीचे तल्यास -
 ताय ∴ व काय ∴ व छिक ∴ येकून पंचा या विन्स पाठ्यिला
 असे. घावडसीस प्रविष्ट होडोउ बंदूक व सकलाद माणाहून पाठ्यिलो. वरकड
 नास वरावर संगोन पाठ्यिल्याचा अर्थ गालीला येते नाहीं. सवितर नोपाळनी
 मेवेंगा विदीत करीतां अवश्य होडोउ. बहुत काय लिहूं । न्या निरंतर असो
 दीने हे विनंति. बंदूक पाठ्यिलो असे लवंगा पाठ्यिल्या त्या प्रसादा.
 हे विनंति.

को

ड. का. बे. स. २०।९४२

बोमत परमहंस स्वामी योही चिरनीव संजुसींग बाबा सरसेल
 बठोठाचे पेठास यावे आणि त्याचे बुतराडी वळावें त्यासी का स
 न्यावे आणि त्यानें देणे जसेल त्याचे हातमाय घरनन त्याचा रुका फेहून तिळापासून
 मुक्त कळावें तो वाट पाहूत अलो बे पक्कालेक तिळापासून मन मुक्त झरील आणि वा
 नरकातून स्वर्णास नावीन त्याचेच पुन्हे तुळे चालते त्याचे बुतराडी नालीयासी तुळे
 पेठ यिक्केल. तुळे लेळ तुळे बुतराडी होवील हे खाम्ये कलन घे. यी देवाचे
 काढो जात नाही. तुळे जाश्वास आलो लेणे देन येसे भार जास्त देन वर्गोट
 आदाय आणि गोभुव असे असोन येवा भाजवारामाचा बायेकाचा येथीस गुणे यात
 नमीं पेन्डावा लागेल असे असोन तुक्का बेठे कारखुक्को असे तुमकून सात नाहीत.।
 यात ग्रहाचे वातापात याता तुमरू^{कुर्दी}तीचे वृक्षीने वाढतो पाये सुवर्णदुर्गी असला कितेक
 हेन दिले द अलिंडे धोडे क्ले गाढाचे पदके दिलो. तुरे दिले येद्युपाला दिल्या
 ते अघे असो. परंतु साठ हजार रुपा नक्द तुवा दिले हे विश्वजनास ठावूक
 आहेत. हे दिल्यावेघल संड नाही. मागा तुम्हास काण्ड लिंग होता त्याचे
 बुतर बालेच नाही.

ड. का. बे. स. २०।९४४

को

सहभासु चिरनीव यिज्जीम्ब पुर्वानावार्म्मान मंदूसिंग बाबा सरसेल यासी
 आहा भेळी येणावे तुम्ही परवा दाळे दिली ते कामाची नक्त आत अवध्या वया
 सायाचे कामाची नसल दाळे चांगली आत क्या नाहींत मेसी पाच रनघवाची

व अकोट दहा रुपमाची चांडी ऐसे असली तर या प्रमाणे किंतु देखून पाठ्या.
 नाहीतर साकारा ग्राव मतासा पाहेअन याकळ रुपये देखून पुढे भाऊद मासी
 ग्रावयें अहुत जनर आहे. बांहास दिल्याने मुखीचा दावामा येत संगटावे
 सहम युं घ्यावे या प्रांते प्रस्तुत दोष दाव व अकोट याहाच आहे यानंतरिता
 तेथोल साकाराकळ नंतरा रुपा देखून गुतम याहल सर्वेवार तेथोल
 भाऊद मासी ग्रावयें प्रस्तुत या कर्दी याहाच आहे. येतोल
 पातवर्णे. पुढे ग्रावयें वेळे ग्रामी लिहितो लेले पेश करून
 लिहि येते नीष्ठा धरून यापुढे तुमच्या गुरावा सुसरनप बात्यापेत्या
 याहिकेत. ग्रामीसी लोलावे. लिहिते तें सत्यच लिहावे. तुम्ही कस्तुरी
 दिली ते पांचात पडठी. यानंतरी लिहिते होते ग्रामी देवतांन
 तरी ग्रावी होती. पाठ्यकिंच ने ग्रामी नकळ
 नाहीं तर मनेशाची दगडी फुर्त तरी गुतम करावी होती. तुम्ही काय कराल ?
 ग्रामी आपलेच म्यालास बोल लावावा.

डॉ. ए. ट. बे. सं. २०।१४।

श्री

सहधायु चिरंजीव मानाजीस ग्रावा तुम्ही पत्र व काले पाठ्यकिंचे प्रवीण
 हेदून लोळा नाहला. जरीस वितांधर दिल्हा त्याहून अबरामर
 प्रवीण नाहाले वारङ्ग सविस्तर कर्तमान पूर्वपत्रीं लिता आहे तें
 मेषक्षतारामू पवार यासी ग्रावा लेली येतीने पत्र व धरून पाठ्यकिंचे त्यासी
 वस्त्र प्राव्यन्ते पेटमर घेले ग्रामी वस्त्रे ने समवीं आनंदरामू फेला ते समवीं वस्त्रे
 गेली नुतीनदीस येत देता.

शीर्षक

दे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०१९२२.

किंविष मानावी वांप्रे यासो आजा केली येसीने. तुम्ही सिवाजी
मोहीते यान्मामये किंतु प्रकारे निटेचा मार व साक्षीचे असली काढून तोकडे
रवाना भराव म्हणून लिंगा त्यासो साक्षी मोहीते याची कफळी बहुमान करनन
साली ता केला तुम्ही बीन्ही येकनिंद आहेस येते पूर्ण दिस
याकरितां शीर्षी दया

याकड संसारी घांपरे याचा मार लिंगा तर त्या काढाने मनीप्रकृती
करनन बहुत अमीं केले. हाली तुलावी आहे. हाडी अमीं करील बरे पांडे यात काय
नाले. ज्याचे त्यासो कापास येते. तुम्ही टाकाल तर टाळें. आपची तें
दया पूर्ण सौभ्य म्हणून आहे. हाठी खावावी बोरकर पाठकिला आहे. तर
हुण्य काल दिक्षा आहेत बाबकर येण्यारा पाठदून दिल्हे पाहिने.

सासरे पाणीयासी ६

बोरन बुलम

बारीक नावाद

फुलाक्षीसे नवे चांगले मुखासिक १

येण्यारा पाठवावे. यानंतर तुम्हे पितृत्य शीर्षा कूनेकरन लिंग आहेत
त्याची मुख्यता तुम्ही करावी. त्याप्रारा करनन त्यासो बुलम लोक छाप्त आवे.
त्याचे पुत्र तुम्ही बाहात. तर तुलावीस गिहेलोको पालेकी
येण्यकर आहे. तर तुम्ही पितृकूपापासून मुख्य होणें म्हणजे तुतोता तर कल्याण आहे.
आपवे बाबास देवून पितृत्यमुक्तीस न्यावे. तुम्ही तें नाऱ्यो सुड आहा. तें
गिंतके लिंगा नलगे खावावी हरकारे नवावी सांख्या क्लेत. हे आजा.
बुलम पाणी श्याव्यासी तंत्र्या पितली ; पाठवावे. खावावीनवळ लिंग पाच आहे.

श्रीमार्गविराम

डे. व. ए. जे. सं. २०।९२१.

गत १७३-३२.

(ब. च. ले. २४६ वर्तन.)

सहभायु विरंजोव विजयीभ्य देवाचा अङ्ग मानसिंग आंगे गतवर्षी मिर्झा
सादाने मावे अङ्गीजे गुरुं नेळे येथे वित्त घ्यावी तरी देवाचा एका वाढवा की
नाहावा । तुळासारसे मृत असलां कानोजीचा पुत्र असीलास मानी वित्ता
असली विसद्वाजी भेटीस येतोल काढी रुड्डा (अर्यं) उर्में लाग्ते तरी

बूद ॥१॥

तुरीजी डाढ ॥१॥

बुद्दाची डाढ ॥१॥

दहणा भाषावी तरी तुडा घंडा हाताखाचा आहे. अनुूूल पठेल तरी
काहो दहणा पाठवून देणे. भी तुडे वरे करील.

गतवर्षीपासून दुम्होने बल भेटीतो. वित्ती गांवसोलाचे पाची व गोमूळ
यासमधी की काये तरी दोन भेसी गुलम दोन दोन वेळाच्या व दोन गाढी विजा-
गीत गुकम भारीदी करून दुमत्याकारारें पाठवें. भावने भी पेटभर नेवत्यानें तुडे
काये हेवील ते पाहें. भी गुलेश्वराचे देवूळ तुडे पुन्याने आशारास आले. भेट-
लिंगाचेही देवूळ आशारास आले. गांवछांचे तडे व तापवहेयाचे तडे त्यार नाहाली.
गतवर्षी दोनले बेळाचे दहणा पाठवून दिल्ले लेंदेणे. भीठ व किरान छाका
दस्तांत लिहान देणे. समाजीचे विसर्जनसमडी कागद लिहिला त्यात सलादी
आगी लिहीली होती. ते पाठवून देणे. समाधीहून शुद्धियाची अपती व
आवीराव भेट खेळून नेळे. तुडे वरे नाहलेयावर तुडे वायाडे साठेनार रनपवे
होते ले तुकडा देणे लासलील. त्याचे कूसारावी नाहत्यानें वरे हेवील. फिरुले
आणि तुमचे बुर्नांत हेवील तेव्हां अनुूूल पठेलर ते देणे. मारे संभानाने आसास
पलंग व आसा भोठा देवू भेला होता. तो माठाचर होता. भेशास लो असला

तरी पलंग आसा पाठकून देणे. देव निजेल. पुण्य तुमचे पदरी पडेल. आबा,
तुम्ही असारो पेटास आलेत. अंजनवेळीची
तरी महून

अद सूर्य पावेलो कोर्ति राहोल. तुलाराम तुमचे नांव चंद्रसूर्य पर्वत राहोल. तुमची
मेवढी कुध तरी झेन तुम्हा टारून आपाची आंगरे यासा हाती धरन तुम्हास
तोणी सांगीलेत? तरी बाभी सूर्यच होतो कों काये? ऐसोपल नव्ह दोता महून
गोठण्याचा रमेत फाट्याचा रोसा आहात.

श्री

भीमार्खिराम

डे. ई. बे. सं. २०।।।३

११७१

११७२

स्थानिक राज्याभिलेक नंके ७० स्वधिरोक्तदारी संबंधसरे आवाढ अहुल
चोयादसी पृथुवासर तजीय कुलाखलंग धोराना आहु छप्पती स्वासा यांनी राज्यान्य
राज्यी तुलानी आमे यासि आहा फेलो मेसीचे परमहंस श्री यासो ज्ञाने
धालकली ताच इकेली प्राचा राजापूर हा गांव पेशीनीचे मुकामीयाकून दूर करन
दाली यास नूतन बिनाम कुलाखलंग कुलानू देसोल बिनाम तांनाडा व हाली पटी व
पेशीपटी व सर देशमुख व सायोना लेटोच इक्तदार व बिनाक्तदार करन झोनाम
दिल्हा आहे. तरी तुम्ही मेजे मजूर सदाहू प्रमाणे श्री सवाजीचे झोरम परपरेस
आनाम चालक्यां प्रसोङ्यां नूतन पशाचा आक्षय न करणे. या पशाचा घर्तो लेहून
खेळून हे असल्याच मेंदुवारीयास याच्यासी परतोन देणे नाहीचे अहुत कामे लिहिये.
लेहनाक्तदार (स्वादेये विराजते)

डे. को. ऐ. सं. २२/,,,

सन् १७४५ चे ग्रांडी.

बेडा योसावी शार्करा अ
त्पर एक रात्रा विक्रम अवाय त्यांचे नांवें किंतु खर्चास नातात.
तरी तुम्ही आभ्रास घार इचार स्त्रा देवू वेलेत त्यास अवम वितीपात बेवूत प्रहावे
जातात तरी तुम्हावर आटीचा अुपकार होतो येजास देणे असेल तरा देणे
नाहीतर आभ्रासुन नाहीं येणे भवावे. तुम्ही आभ्रास नवार य पलग देवू वेलात
व आटीचा ठपला देवू वेलात रक्की देवू अलात तो कावी आभ्रास नाहीं येक को.
तुम्ही तरी सुखलष असा (आभ्रास) जाशा दे देणे आभ्रास क
अंगाचे लोक वाटणी देते तरी प्रहारा अंगलेली ये (तला) लेता
कावी, मो तुम्हाकडे नेघ भरठे की आपाचीस मरसेली अ येसे केळ्हा बाढा भरठे
होते. सिवानी हरो यांची तुलानी आयो यासी लिहिले वी' योसावी वावा
सरसेली आपाचीस देता त्यावतन आप(चो) माझे रिकामीच आली आनि तो बहुत
जाऊ जाऊ क-टी जाहला मग येट्या दिल्या नाहीं. माझ्ये रिकामीच
आली.... माझा स्त्रा न्हवून त्यांचे लेळां या दंस्यामुऱे देणांचे स्त्रा घेवून मुंबाहून
पाक्साहातो देण येट्या आपिल्या.

श्रीराम

डे. श. ऐ. सं. २०। १७४०

सन् १७४४-४५

श्रीमंत परमहंस योगीराम शार्करा

मूर्ती राजधो वावा स्वाभावे भेषेवी.

वाचन लिवानी हरि स्त्रा नपालार विनंती प्रार्थना असोने. स्वाभावे श्रीरामदप्त

सनीस आले तेथे बाढा ने तुळानों जांगरीयास पत्र म्या लिहिले की आपानीस वस्त्रे सरखेलीची बाधा देनार म्हणोन त्याबरदन आपले कार्य पनापासून वेळे नाही. म्हणोन तरी आपण लिहिले नाहीं आणि आपणास ठाके नाहीं येथिसी मोमानीचे विद्यमाने भर्मत केला आहे. अमे दुःठ कर्म आपण करने तोरीमडे नेवू आनीपर्यंत खराचमें नेली नाही मो स्वामीचा सेवक आहे उतर सहसा न यडे विदोत होये हे विश्वापना.

तस जीनस वस्त्रे दिली ते याचे कानाकर लिहोन घालावें होले. आमची नो नेवा आमधी (श्रीधी) नेवा करोल त्यास मुदामाची खत होवील. गुराका फक्ते होवूनच माझ्या येसे आपणे ज्ञास आले त्यास पनतेचे काय करूपान तुळाडे आले असेल ते लिहोन पाठवें. मानाचोचे मंदी राळान, तें तुम्हां येक असें म्हणने वाचू आहे.

भौ

डे. ए. ऐ. सं. २०।१२१९

आपापन रानधी अपानों गंग्रे ताद मोळदम व सेत मोमे घाळवसो प्रांत रानापुर मुआ समस असेन म्या व कलम्बोने मार हा गांव हुनुर सन्द पहाराव रानधी छेपती स्वामी यांची भ्रीमत तीर्पत्तप णार्मवाकावा परमदंस मासी जिनाम कानन घारा खत दिल्हा असे त आम्ही आपले तर्फेने पूनेशा शाहिल्यावृल कुलाव कुलानु कलान काठ पाढाव नोघाचिसेप जिनाम दिल्हा आहे तरी त्यास रननु होवून गांवका क्षेत्र सुरक्षित देत नाऱे. हुनुर न करतें या पत्राची प्रति लेहून घेऊ असल पत्र स्वामीवड्ह मोगवटीपांची परतेन देने. प्रसीकर्ते नवोन पत्राचा अहेय न घर्यें. बाढा पत्र सादार वेळे असे रात ७० भाहे जिल्हाद १ मोर्टब सूद

डे. कॉ. डै. सौ. १२/१०६८

पुरकी तू केल गार्ह आता होती होकी घर
हाती भरला डोर का नेल आँही पूर्व होतो की काये व्याहीस मरलेली
देवाची आणि आँहासी का आवा वाढला. माताराचे माकारकूम ती पाये
पेसानीच पेत्ते सिवानी हरी व राम्भुम पायेहोयोसानी मारले. हे कर्णान
कुत्रप.

शे.

डे. कॉ. डै. सौ. २०१७१९

योनं पूर्णदनावनय परमहस्यात्रा रथाचीचे मेली. खरवरव यंगाचाडी
बरणावर यातक ठेणुन साठांच ठंडक छिनीत तुमरी. मैतील कुळ तार कैझास
कुळ डाठी कुण्डार पर्यंत स्वामीचे आँखीकादेशन व्हान क्याप्तित असे विषेष.
बहुत दिवस आविर्बादपत्र येणुन परार्थी होत नाही. तेवेकरनन चित यावेप झो.

तरी मर्दा पर पाठकून सांभाऱ करणार आयण सर्व अस. आहिनेही खरणाचे
सम्बन्ध करनन काळद्वारा करील असो. तेथे विस्तारे काय लिहिले! यानंदर आँही
जंचिरे मुख्यादुर्गांची किहे पाहाव्यास जालो होती. ती आली. ते व जाही
सामग्रेव कुळातेस नाहून स्वामीस विद्युत यावे न्हौन लिहाव असे. यानंदर
कुळाद्वेष यातुलीलाचीनी मेला याढवे. व तेन पाठविले, ते स्वामीकहे इवाना
मेले असी. बहुत लिहिले तरी स्वामी सर्व असेत.. कृष्ण कर्णान क्याची हे
विषापना. स्वामीकारचे पीडे वकन सरे ८८१ पाठविले जोता. पेत्ते पाहिवे.
शुभपापही वकन सरे ८८२. अद्यांती पाच अस. अंगिनर मेला पाहिवे. हे
विषापना.

डे. कॉ. ऑ. सं. १२। २२७ ज.

तुम्ही कागदी खितका कितार लि । आणि तुमचे पुन्ये जितकी श्रीची
 काँवें जाली तरी मी हे त्यङ्गा तुम्हाच (कारणे) करीत होतो । परंतु --
 कनोनाकरीता मन नित्य बुपोसने होतात । परंतु पुढे तुम्ही देणारास काय
 करार । पुढे काय होगील । परंतु लौकिकी येणे जाले । बावाची अवशा
 केली । पुढे तुमचा जय क्षमा होगील । तुम्ही काय समजलेत आहां हे न क्ळे ।
 सीतेचे पांगी रावण बुडाला तरी कनोनाचें पांगी काय होगील ते पहा ।
 जितक्यावर तुम्ही लि ॥ जे मन्यारिसा सिरय असतां कनोन्याचा पोर क्षमा
 सिरय करतां । तरी परमेश्वरे मीलीचे हातचे बुद्धी बोरे सादली होती ।

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऑ. सं. २०। ६७६

श्रीमंत परमहंसबाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी
 चरणरन कृष्णभट साढ्ठांग नमस्कार विनंती विन्नावया कारण ता ।
 फाल्गुन वद अष्टमी पावेतो स्वामीचे कृपेकरन न समस्त सुखरनप असो विजेष
 आग्नापन पाठविले त्यांत लिहिले कीं तीवठे युतम पन्नास साठ हाती दर दहा
 रन्यामध्ये देन तीवठे सत्वर पाठवून देऱे म्हणून त्यावरन तीवठाचें तलास
 करीतां शुंच तीवठाचे येथे स्प नाहीं । या करीतां केणी आणित नाहीं ।
 गोविंदनी सेठीस दिवाणातून सांगितले होते याकरितां सेठीने मुजबद ठिकाणाहून
 एक तीवठ ऐसी हात लंब आणिले होते । ते घेतले । रन्ये ११ तेरा व
 दुसरे कुसुंबी पन्नास हात लंब रन्ये ६। सवासा येकून देनी तीवठे मुदल
 किमतीला घेणून रसमानी बाबा पाठकिळी आहेत । तीवठास वेस्था नवा सेला
 चिरंजीव गोपालास पागरावयास पाठकिळा आहे । सेवेसी श्रृत होये मागे

स्वामीचे आशा पत्र आले हेते त्यांत लिहिले हेते कीं तुळा कील कासी पाढ्या
आहे. आगांची बदूत आहेत. म्हणून लिहिले तरी मन कील कोणी नाहीं.
स्वामीचे पाय हे ^{माझी} साजी वकील. स्वामीने माझा अुघार केला आणि वतनावर
स्थापना केली हे कीर्ती प्राधीवर सर्वत्र नाहली मो सहकुटुंब जहोरात्र स्वामीचे
पायाचे स्मरण करून आहे. वरकड वर्तमान तरी राजशी सरखेल व रात्रा संभानीबाबा
सातेरेस याव्यास कुलाबेदून निघाले. लौकरीच स्वामीचे पायापासी येतील.
तेथां गोपाठा बा। स्वामीस विनंतीपत्र लिहिले आहे. तो म्हुदा दुसरे कागदावरी
झुतरन त्यास सम नवाब व रा।। अरधुनाथनी यास समजागून त्यापासी म्हुदा आणि
आज्ञा करावी कीं अंतप्रमुने मन्त्रूर घातला नाही. तो महाराजा मक्सूद समजागून
ऐवढी गोस्ट माहाराजापासून मागेन घेणून आपण वतनाचे कागद करून दिल्हे या
प्राप्त माहाराजापासी करून मागावे असे बोदर राजशी सरखेली माहाराजापासी
मागेन घ्यावे असी नित्यांक करावी स्वामी सर्वज्ञ आहेत मी लिहावे असे नाहीं.
सेवेसी शृंग हाये हे विनंती.

भी मागवराम

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०।७१२०

भीमंतं परमहंसबाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी

वरणरन कृष्णंभट साटांग नमस्कार विनंती विन्वावयङ्काराण ताा मादपद नवमी
पावेतो स्वामीचे असीर्वादेकरून समस्त सुसरनप असो विजेष माजे वरे व्हावे हा
निजध्यास स्वामीस लागला आहे. त्या प्रता माजे कल्याण होमीलच. परंतु
मध्या काहीं दुष्ट राह आहेत ते तुमे राहातात त्यामुळे काहीं व्याक्षेप पडतो.
गोठणेमध्ये वडीली साजगे वाघली हेती ते कळ साध्य निर्मळ नाहली पावणासे
वरऱे अत आम्बर्य वाठले. स्वामीचे आज्ञा नाहली कीं ते साजगे बांधणे, आपण

बांधावो तरो स्वामीचा केअप होआले याकरीता स्वामीचे आहेहमार्ये सायास
करन लेकांवें कर्जे काढून साजाचे बांध बांधले जंगल तोडून दोन वरजे जाहली
तीसरी फसल दोन वरजे आमासी पाझूस नाही त्यामुळे चिंता जाहली. हाली
अंतमुने अविश्वय आरंभिला आहे. स्वामीचे पत्र राजशी सरखेलास आठे तेव्हा
अवधा नीठच विचार जाहला फिरोन----- फिरली तो सविस्तर
विचार चिरंनीव सेवेसी निवेदन करिता श्रुत होआल. आज ऑसे गर्व मन्वर जाहला
असता ज्योंचे कर्ज रनपये काढीले त्यास काहीच पावले नाही. ते घरी येणून
गलपनास करावयास लागले. आणि लेकीकही जाहला. येसा उन्यास कोणा-
वरही होत नाही. या करिता सविस्तर कर्त्तमान सेवेसी निवेदन होआल केअप
न करावा. म्हुद लिहिला आहे हा चित्तात आणून आणखी काही समाधानाचे
लिहान जाहणे माझुसा न. पाठवून त्यास आज्ञा करावी की सविस्तर पत्राचा
अर्थ चित्तात सावकाज येषदोन वेळ आवीक्षेन पत्र प्र.। विचार करावा म्हान
कागद लिहावे आणि तोड क्वानी सांगावे येसी आज्ञा करावी. सेवेसी श्रुत
होये हे विनंती.

स्वामी व छत्रपति .

डे. कॉ. औ. सं. २०।६५७

४९

पुा मौमार्गवती लावीस आहा. तुमचे चित्तात केंद्रजीचे वरे करावे आमचे वाओट करावे तरी केंद्रजीस आम्हापावेतो पाठ्यकून आवा. सर्व त्याचे हवाला करनन निरोप देणू. विशेष काय लिहिणे.

श्रीमत मार्कवाप

डे. कॉ. औ. सं. २०।६६१

सहभायु चिरंजीव किंवद्दीभव फलतेसिग यासी आहा नेली येणीने तुम्ही गाझी देविलया त्या सौमाजीने व संहोनी गायकवाढ याणे येक गाय आणली तुम्ही दोन गाझीची किमत देतो न्हणून सौमाजी नव्ह बोलीले ते त्यास येक गाय दाहा रनपथाची आणली तुम्ही गाय ठिकाणी लावीली ती पाठ्युन देणे संहोनी गायकवाढ यावा रना पाठ्यकै. न्हनने दोधी कामघेनुचे गोमुत्र तम खाडुन तुम्हास दोन सिव्या देणू तेणे करनन अुर्णीत होणिल.

श्री.

डे. कॉ. औ. सं. २०।६६२

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श्रीसकलतीर्थस्वरनप श्रीमत्परमहाँस श्री स्वामी^१ सेवेती अपत्यासपान जाहूनी राजे कृतानेक विनंति गुपरी. वेलदार वे पुण्योनन आहे. येसीयासी घावहसीस व्यार असामी व बिंडमिंडयास पाच आसामी आहेत तर दाहा वेलदार कुळी फावडेसमेत आहा करनन पाठक्किले पाहिणे. अनपान न करावा. महालचे घरचे काप आहे. याकरिता विनंति लिहिली असे. जरनर काप वेलदार पाठवावे हे विनंति.

डे. कॉ. अ. सं. २०/१९६ श्रीराम

श्रीसकलतीर्थस्वरनप श्रीमत श्री परमहंस स्वामीचे सेवेसी
अपत्यक्त श्री जाहुनीराने दंडक्त किंति ऐल कुळ पोऱ्य लहूल चुरुदसी बिंदुवासा
पर्यंत आफ्ले असीर्वादे तथ्यास्थित असे विशेष वागेतील केवडीयाची पुस्ये प्रसादीक
तीन पाठक्ली आहेत न्हणून आपण पत्र पाठक्ले ते प्रविष्ट जाह्ले प्रसादीक
पुस्ये पाठक्ली ती प्रविष्ट जाह्ली. विदीत जाह्ले पाहिजे.

श्री

डे. कॉ. अ. सं. २०/१९६

श्रीपरमहोस मार्गराम यासि.

प्रती राजभी राजा शंमु छत्रपति दंडक्त उपर मोबे घूलौ तापाक्ष
मेथील नातोडे ठिकाण पहिलेपासून राजभी गुणानीराव सानकेकर यासी अनाम आहे.
त्यास तुम्ही आपणाकडे श्रीस अनाम आहे न्हृष्णु तुपसर्ग करीता व्हेच गला भरन
नेला तरी मोने मज्जूर श्रीस अनाम दिल्हा तेव्हां ते ठिकाण व्हेचीन करनन अनाम
दिल्हा आहे. तुम्हास या ठिकाणासी कथक कराक्यास संघ नाही. नार
नीले राज्यातील पुरातन सेक्क याचे सर्वोत्तम वालक्के झगत्य आहे. तुम्ही यांच्या
ठिकाणासी कटक्ट न करणे. या ठीकाणचा गला जो काये तुम्ही घेतला असेल तो
फिरोन घेणे. याकुपर नातोड यासी देशील भाषासी कथला न करणे याकडे अनाम
सुरलित वालक्के व्हृत काये लिहिजे. मर्यादियं विराजेते

श्री

डे. कॉ. अ. सं. २०/१९६

श्रीमतपरमहंस श्री मार्गराम स्वामीचे सेवेसी कृपा स्पद्याढी श्रीराजा
शंमु छत्रपती कृतानेके दंडक्त पुणाम किंति उपरी स्वामीनी असीर्वादपत्र पाठक्ले

ते प्रविष्ट होऱ्यून लेखनार्थ अवगत नाहला. त्यात आज्ञा की गावास बुपसर्ग नाहला आहे त्याचे निवारण करणे म्हणून तरी त्याविष्टी रा कृष्णाजी परज्ञराम यासी आज्ञा केली आहे. तरी यातांर बुपसर्ग काही होणार नाही. स्वामीऱ्यून अधिक्षितर काय आहे हे क्विंति.

श्री

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०। १०१०

घुरने भोग साघळा आणि अढळपदी वैसला. ऐसे सहवार बाझी किंतेक गोवघ व ब्राह्मण बाझीका बाटवितो हे त्या त्रुक्विले. पुत्रसंतान नाहलेसे समन. तरीच मी परज्ञराम होझीन. तेसी बाझी तू अढळपदी वैल (लीस) चंद्रकूर्य पावेतो कीर्ती राहीली बाझी चिपळूणचा सेटया येथे आहे. आणि येमानी सिवदेवचा किनायेक नोसी येथून निशाण घेऊन खेला यास गेस भोठा नागूत आहे. त्या पे ना(झू) बुमा राहीला आणि तीक्ष्णून हळसी आला. त्याणी पुसोले की तुम्ही कोठे बाता! तरी आम्ही यादेवाचे दर्भनास आलो त्यामे तो गेस फोडीला. औतका बुफ्कार केला. येसाच नोसी राजापुरास नमऱ्यून ब्राह्मणा पुर्ती घेऊन सानास दोन हजार रुपये दिलहे. येसाच चिपळूणचा सेटया सातारात नेव्ही गोष्ठ होगील तेव्ही गोष्ठकोटी लिए पाठवी. त्याचा कील हा. तुम्हास क्लावे, म्हणून लिहिले आहे. कागद वाचून नसन करनन ठेवणे नाहीतरी बाब्हाकडे पाठवे.

श्री

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०। १०३२

पुरकी म्हाराजाधिरान सौ. मातुश्री सहवार बाझी त्या लिंगीला येथे आणिले पागले सारखा भूमा पाढील. तरी हे गरीबेगुरीद्वे भोलामाव सिंघीस नाब तरी किंवा व यागे कोणी दोघाही साळे पिंडले आहे त्याचा झर्ने करील आणि

तुम्हानवळ आणि. तरी झिंका पायगुण वाढीठ आहे. घनी (भी) मारीले. मग म्हणसील सांगितले नाही. तरी झिंका दूर ठेकले. बाझी छिठाची रजडी सीतकाल ची काफूल घालून आत मर (की) राहो न देणे येसी रजडी येक पाठ्यकून देणे. विज्ञेन काय लिए हे आशा.

भी

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०।३०७१

मातुजी विनवाजी यास आशा की भी तुमचा नागली आहे. तस्याचे काम होते हे चंद्रसूर्य तपेतो आजी आहे. कीर्ती तुमचीच आहे. किंडगावचे हृनरवंद पाथरवट ९ नक्जण तहस्याचे कामावर आहेत. हे पुन्य तुमचे पदरी पढेल याचे वाठेस नव नाऱे येसी चिठी आफी किंवा याहिने. हृनरवंदास युने काय आहे. आमाङासाले पृथ्वी तुमची आहे. यासचे वाठेस कोणी नव नात ये से चिठी जरन पाठकिंवा पाहिजे.

भी

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. २०।३०१२

म्हाराब उपतीस आशा न्हादेव मोस्त्यास नाला प्रसन्न पेशव्याही जे मध्याग्रह केली असेल ते देवास ठाकी असो. कानोनीने कोकणात गड किल्यास अस करनन मोस्त्याचे किले बांधले अस्तील ते सदासीवास ठाळूक. असो. तुमच्या राज्यात मी जीमारती केल्या अस्तील चालीस ते देव जाणे. काली मी अर्धी आंगोल ठाळून तटावर बसोन निर्लंज आलो अम जाले ते देवास ठाळूक असो. (फाळे)

दहा व ता (फाळे) अन देणे जे मज नोकले करनन काम करणे नहुतेक तले त्याजीं असकिले चिठी आलीयावर नोकले मने काम करतील. हे आशा.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०। १०२६

जाहनी लावा आज्ञा येसीने घोडा रत्न माझा प्लासारीसा दिल्हा
होता. यावरी मी बस्त होतो. तसीच रत्न नीली घोडी दिलि तरी बोन .
घोड्याने आज सोम्यारी देह सोडीला.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०। १०२६

चिरंनीव जाहनी राने छत्रपति याप्रती आज्ञा म्हातारपणी कोठे दूर
नावक्त नाही. तर माझी सेवा बेळ्टी केली म्हणजे दूर जागू. ते वै दिवऱी
फिरोन दिवाळीस येणू. तर रनपये श्रीचे कर्ण हरि भोरा याचकडे आहे. तर
याचे रनपये पेठेत कुळाकडे आहेत. तर त्याकेडून रनपये पाठदिल्हयास जवळूनच फिरोन
येणू. नाही तर दूर जावे लागेल. हे कृत्मान तुम्हास विदितच आहे. तर रनपये
देक्किले पाहिजेत. आपणाकडे हरि पाठकिळा आहे. कल्ले पाहिजे. जितकी सेवा
केलियाने पोटमर गोमूत्र घेऊन. तुमचे जब्दाने रनपये येतील. आमची सेवा
होतील. तुम्हावर संतुष्ट भी होतील. येसे आहे. आमचे रनपये याकडे आहेत.
ते तुमच्या जब्दावरनन अुगवतील. हा नरकातून निये येते आहे. सूजाप्रती विजेष
काय लिहावे. हे आज्ञा. हरीने दोन तोन तपे सेवा केली. माझी आपणास
विदीतच आहे. तुम्ही तो याचा अंगिकार केलाच आहे. हल्ली आम्ही लिहिले
आहे. तर यासी नरकातून काढू. आम्हे वक्त मान्य करनन रनपये त्याकेडून
बेपुरक्त देववावे. मार्ग घाहात आहो तर रनपये आधी कुळाकडून देवावे -
हे आज्ञा.

श्री

डे. कॉ. डि. सं. २०।१०६८

मातुर्भी विरन्वाखीस आशा केली येसीजे. अग्नोत्रीकार्य क्षीर करावे महीना आणि अंतीने वर्षाची क्षीर करावी. साहा त्याम आपची चार क्षीरे राहीली आठ पहिने जाह्ले आणि क्से सात त्यांने करनन बहुत गाजलो कष्टी जालो. तो श्री नैसी द्वुपदीचे विठ्ठला जाह्ली तैसीच माझी जाह्ली. करन्णा कोणास न आली. लकडी पार उत्तराक्याचा नव्हता बा बाचेच मंगती केला होता अत्माराम निधान नाता. मी देशातरासच जावे येसे केले होते. परंतु दुसे पत्र गेले याजकळिता वीरमाडेयास फिरोन येळून केंडीचे घरास पाय लागला. तेपून धावहसीस आलो. नसा पांडवांच्या धावन्यास दोकृच पाकला तैसीच माझे धावन्यास तूं पाकलीस. जेण्ठ वटी सप्तपी बुध्यारी सचीच दर्जनास आला. बहुतसा ब नीत आला. त्यावरनन क्षीर केले. तुम्हास क्षावे म्हणून लिा असे.

श्री

डे. कॉ. डि. सं. २०।१०६८- १०७०

सा. संपन्न मातुर्भी विरन्वाखी यासी आशा केली येसीजे. संडोजीजात पत्र पाठविले ते पावोन लिा कर्तीगान क्लो आले. आम्हास लिा ने तुम्ही देवमानूस आणि येसी कर्म करावी. योरय नाही. हे गोप्त खरीच

आहे. पाठील म्हणतात आपणास कौल व सांगोन पाठकिले नाही व संभाजीच्या घरातील लोणच्याचे रांजण पेनाढले व गळापाणी तस्मास केला. काकवीच्या घागरी नेल्या व हाली संभाजी घर स्थानीतले. म्हणेन लिा तरी ते सांगतात ते ऊघ्ये सरोवर आहे. आम्ही बोलतो ऊघ्ये लठके. तुमच्या बहिरनीने घर पाहीले काय नेंवे असेल ते याजे म्हास आणिलेच असेल. हाली त्याचे घरातील काय गेले असेल ते आम्हास धावद्यासे तुम्ही आद्या क्रावी. त्यापुढा देखून परंतु सीणा जाहली कौल पाठ्यास पाठकून त्याचे स्थापना क्रावी. म्हणेन लिा तरी आम्ही त्यास कुण्डे केला नाही. त्याचे त्याणीच करावे. तीतके केले. हाली स्थापना क्रा-
-व्याची तुमचेच हातीं व ते संतोषी असतील तेच क्रावे गावही त्याचेच स्वाधीन करावा. आमचे स्वाधीन केलीयास पाठील यापुकारे मुराठीत कर्त्तुक मुडे करणार नाहीत ज्याहाजती पर्यास गावची संडणी यागो ते देणार नाहीत. लठकी तुफाने घेझून मागती तुम्हाजक्क जाखून सांगहील आनकरिता त्यास समाधान ते करावे. दोनते रन्याचे म्हाले तुम्हाच करार किले ते हाली संभाजीने कुरण चारीले नाही म्हणतो.

श्री

ड. कॉ. जे. सं. १२११०४९.

आमचा तन्मय विश्वास तुमचे ठायी आम्ही कांहीं तुम्हानवढ मागवावी तुम्ही नाहीं म्ह..... जेता तपसील कलवावा हें कांहीं देवास मानत नाहीं.

.....कृष्ण पांडवांचा साहयेकरी हेता त्यास ते तसेच वर्तत हेते. परमेश्वरी बळीस तीन पदे मूर्मि माघितली त्यास त्यांचे कांहीं न म्हठले कीं स्वामी कांही आणली माग त्यास आफ्सी देखूं. न मागिले (तरी) आहे तितकेच देखूं. परी....स साठीं बाजीवार घातले आण राजांस काये नाव घाल ! नानास दोन पादरका मारील्या हेत्या आण दोन करंत्या दिल्या हेत्या. आम्ही बाढीस तुम्हास सुवर्णहि दिल्हे आण येकिसी सांगिले. कुमुळवासी नानाने घरणीं निर्झा घरीली आन दमानी असता तरी केवड्या पढते. आण सगीदा सचा सला न हेता तरी कसे हेते. येसी हजार घाष (१) की पेच हेता. तो नाना दिलीस गेला तोची पोटास हातास्तव गाला. ज्ञा नानाचे मस्तकीं हात ठेविला तेसा याचे मस्तकीं हात ठेविला. येथे आपून दिरविन्ही चिरा बांधला. तुम्हीं कुमयतांनीं दाली सोडी माग तो (लंग) क्षत्र सोडविल नेसी बिमीघणास दान दिल्हे मग अयोध्येस राम गेले. तुम्ही नरी दिली घेतली तरी स्वदेशा विनिवेश पुरनषार्द व्यर्थ असे. हे पत्र बाजीस अथवा राजी मात्र दासवर्णे. आफ्सी कोणास दासकिंत तर पायाची सफत नाही तरी हस्तीसारसी गोळट होणील.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ग्रे. सं. २०१४५१.

श्रीमत् भार्गववरनेतु

घीर रघुनाथाचा सेवकपण हणमंताचे जात्मनिवेदन हालीचे रामलक्ष्मण
दोनी बंधु लक्ष कोठी रत्ने माणिके मळा कोणी दिली तर माझी मिशी वाढत
नाहीं..... (मो.जा.) आम्ही तुमचे कुटुंबाचे जाणि आम्हासी प्रपंच का
घरिता । जितकी मोठी मोठी कामे करीतां ती माझे कानीं घालितां तुम्हा
दोघा मावावांचून दुसरा स्वा नाहों. तुम्ही रत्नागिरीवर खारी
केली ती मळा तीला जितके तरी क्ले घावे होते. गणस्तीने समुदा चे येकव अचमन
क्ले होते. त्या गणस्तीचे दंड कुमडल व मेला तुम्हा तुम्हात चे स्वाधीन केली
असे. तुम्हा दोघांचा मनस्का सातारा खडेराबू दामाडा मोठी.

श्री

डे. कॉ.ग्रे. सं. २०१९९५.

सन २०८०-१७४३.

असंहित उम्ही ऊळकृत राजमान्य राजभौ नगन्नाथ चिमणानी गोसावी यासी,
सेवक सदासीव चिमणानी नमळकार मुा सलास गाबेन म्या व अलफ श्री
कडील वार्षिक साठा हवार रनपये देणे त्यास तूर्त वेढीचा प्रसंग आहे. श्री
समाधी विज्ञनेन करनन निधालीयावर रनपये न गेले तर त्यास राग मेहील. अथवा
पत्र पाठकितील यास्तव हे पत्र अगोधर तुम्हास लिहिऱे लागले. निनित्य चहुकडील
वेठ जाहली रनपया तो नाही तरी तुम्ही श्री स विनंती बहुता झकोर करनन
तुर्तच रनपया चा तमादा न करीत तें करणे. श्री स तो राग न ये व रनपया ची
गोळट दोन मास तकुब होये हे कारीगारी तुमची आहे. येक्सी क्ले तेसी विनंती
करनन तुर्त रनपया ची गोळट यहकुफ होबील ते करणे नाहीजे ४ २२ जमादिलासर
आणा प्रमाण

श्रीमार्गवराम.

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९९०.

सहश्रायु चिरंनीव विज्ञीनव अपास आशा केली येतीजे. तेषून स्वार
नाले ते मुळव्यास आले. तेऱ्ये घोड्याचे पायास पाजाण नाले झगदी
घोडा पुढे पाय न घाली. तेव्हां पाटील बाबी पासुन घोडे घेऊन तुमचे दयेने
उकरवारी सुखानप स्वप्नास पावळा. घोडे लाहान त्यांमें आंग अवधेस पलोन
कळी नाले. निवास बरै वाढत नाही. मान्करितां तुम्हास लिहितां
पुरवत नाही. सांगताही पुरवत नाही. आणि मैत्री तोडली तरी त्यासही
आम्ही रानी असे. तुम्ही घावडसीस बोलीलेत जे बामधी बुध ज्ञान्वत असे
आ. त्या सर्वांचे ठाबी तुमचे बुध आहे आणि आमचे ठाबी कां किरपक्ता
घरितां. मातुमी शुभाबाबी जबळ जे सागितले त्यास काही नाहीं येते
म्हटलेच नाही. पाटाबू मागीतली दिली. रन्पेच्चा वाटीया दिल्या व
वस्त्रे मागीतली ते दिल्ही भीक्षाही आपले वैमवास

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९९१.

सहश्रायु चिरंनीव विज्ञीनव रामकृष्ण मवतरान चिमणानी अप्या यास
आशा केली येतीजे. केसोपंत कुळकर्णी मार्णे पुत्राचे लग्नास तुमापत सवदा नरोराम
बीन झुदमी नेवरीकर माज्ञासून घेतला हेता. त्याजला चिन्ही लिहेन दिली
हेती. तुने रनपये देखून व्यानसुधा. हाली तो झुदमी पुण्यात आहे. यान-
करितां चिरंनीव बानीराबू यास कागद दिल्हा हेता जे केसोपंत कुळकर्णी बनुत्यन्न

वेलेचे जायास नाहीं. याजकरितां शुदमी यास आजा करन कुदल रनये घेऊन याचा क्षत्रिय देवर्णे त्यावरन रायाही बापूजीपंत नानास आजा करन याचे मनसुमी केली. काही पैके पावळे होते. ते सरे केले वाकी रनये राहीले ते घेऊन सत याधारे यावे. येसे सांभीतले त्यावरन त्यार्णे राता दिल्हे सत यावे त्यास नीवाजी कृष्ण तुमचा कारमारी याचीं त्यास पाठीस घालून सत देवीत नाहीं. रनये स-व्याज घेऊन म्हणतो. केसोपंत यार्णे टेकडीचा कुळर्णी जामीन दिल्हा होता. त्यास झुकविले गाहे. गाम्ही नीवाजी कृष्ण यास दोन कागद लिा ते आमचे कागद रद केले. ते कागद तुमचे रद केले, आहेत. सिवराम कृष्ण पाढली असतां त्यास असीर्वाद दिल्हा होता. हाली तुमचे लक्ष पती नाऱले. बापुमठाचे गुप-देसी जागमीभाजीचे कागद फिरोन ठार्ला तरी त्यास आजा करन केसोपंताचे पैके मुघल पावळे. सत पिरन देवर्णे. तुम्ही वामनमठ करवे याज्ञासून आमचे मुघल रन. देवीले ते तुमचे वकनीं गाम्ही घेतले. या कालात मुघल राता गुगळा तर बरा येसे असतां बाम्हास इडतो तरी बापण नीवाजी कृष्णास खरपूस आजा करन याचे सत फिरन देवर्णे नामीन ठेकडीकर सोडून देवर्णे. पुढे आमची याठ पडेल आमचे कागद रद केले आहेत. तरी जिवाजीचे घर भुमे दुपारी यानीन हें बायणास कल्ले असावे.

भीमार्गद.

ठे. कॉ. अॅ. सं. २०।८५०.

कोणा चिपुडण्याचा तुस दया देवाचा कागद गतवर्णी तूं म्सा फाडीलास? काही तरी तुझी सत नाहली असेल अगर होवील नव्हात आलीच असेल जाहुनीराने नाले म्हणून बाजसी राजातर कोटी रनये तुज्यापासून घेता. पुढे तुम्हापासून पैके

देव खेळील. (व) तानीचे गत नाली तेसी तुझी हेवील. तुला क्लो येवील.
ज्या तुला बाढ़किले त्याचे घरा भक्ता भोवले ते तुमचे बरे हेत नाहीं.
तुम्ही श्रापदग्ध नियुळ्ये घारे डोडे पिणे केस तू हाच श्राप आमचा घेणे. तुझी
स्वी बरे हेपार नाहीं.

श्री

ठे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०१९९०

सन १७१७.

राजमा व्य राजभी बापूनी गणेज गोसावी मासी,
सेवक बालानी बाजीरावू नमस्कार. सुमा सबा सलोसीन म्यावलफ
श्री मार्गवराम बाबा यांस सोळीले मोप बारीक झुतम सडीक तांदुळ संडी । येक
सरेदी करन देणे म्हणून तीर्थतप राजभी अप्या स्वामीचे पत्र छ । रम नानी
आळे तेव्हां तुम्हास दासवाक्यास पाठकिले हेतें त्यास बाबांनीं तेव्हां -
तांदवाची निक्ष लावून मारीतले नाहीं. आणि तुम्हीही याद करन त्यांचे
माजूस बोलावून सरेदी करन दिलहे नाहीं. पत्र आले तेव्हां सवंग हेते. आतां
माहात नाले. बाबा पेका घेत नाहीं. तांदुळच घेणून देणे म्हणून सडोनी साडवी
यास माप बाबांनीं नीरोप सांगून पाठकिला त्यावरन तीर्थतपाचे पत्राची
नक्ल व सडोनी सालवी तुम्हाकडे पाठकिला आहेत. येके दुकानीं झुतम तांदुळ
मिळेनाल. तर दहा दुकानें फिरोन सडोनी सांगेल तसे बारीक तांदुळ सडीक संडी-
मर सोळुले हेते येसे बसडीक अधीक येका संडीस घेतले म्हणजे सडीक संडीमर त्यास
पावतील. येसा अदमास पाहून तांदुळ सरेदी करन देणे पेका पढेल तो पोतातून
घेणून देणे. यावूपरी तांदवाचे लिंगाड बाबाकडील येकंदर न ठेवणे. नानीने
छ २९ रमनान पां दुजूर.

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९५५.

ब्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी याही

गंगाना नवीसमान मातुभ्री सिवाबाबी यासी गांशा केली येतीजे. बहुत दिवस तुम्हाकडून कागदपत्र येबून समाचार कळत नाहीं. येवे करनन तुम्ही निष्ठुरपण घरीले से दिसोन आले येसे न करै या नंतर भी येथील काम सांप्रत प्रारंभ केला गाहे काम बगदी तुने काढीले पैका बहुत लागणार तुमचे पुण्याने सिद्धीस भी नेंवील. श्रीचे विमारतीचे साहित्यास श्रीचे कोठीचे बेल सुा १०० रसमानी कोठावळा याच्बा।। पाठविले आहेत. कल्याण प्रांती नावून हर जिन्स भरन वापतील. त्यास तुम्हाकडील ब्रह्मदार झातीचे सासीयास मुजावा देतील तरी त्यास ताकीद करनन मुजावा न देत ते करै. येक्सी चिरंनीव प्रघान्यंताचे दस्तक येकंदर आहेच. परंतु तुम्हास ही सूचनार्थ लिहिले आहे. बहुत लिहिऱै तरी सूच व्हा हे गांशा.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९५०.

ब्रीमंत महाराज श्री

परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेजी.

चरणरज सदासीव चिमानी कृतानेक नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील कुऱ्ऱल ताा ब्रावणसुघ क्तुर्थी मंदिवार पर्यंत स्वामीचे असीर्वादेकरनन येथा स्थित असे विसेष स्वामींनी असीर्वाद-पत्र पाठविलै ते पाबले. देकडी रजपुतीण संगमनेतकर तिचे कर्ने मवानी रंगारी यान-कडे आहे ते ताकीद करनन देवावे. न्हणेन आंशा केली त्याज्वरनन रंगारी मन्कुरास ताकीद करनन पाचावे मते देवकीवा पैका रंगारी याकडे ठहरला तो कमळोनी वागमारा याचे विश्वासानें वरनन देविला कल्ले पाहिजे सेवेसी कृत होये हे विज्ञापना.

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९७२.

श्रीमत्महाराज श्री

परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी.

चरणरन सदासीव चिमणा गी कृतानेके साढटोग नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील कुरुल
ताता माघ तुध पंचमी पर्यंत स्वामीचे अळीर्वादेकरनन मेथा स्थित असे विज्ञेष स्वामींनी
अळीर्वादपन पाठविले तें पावळे. सोना रंभारी मालसिरसास होता तो मृत्यू
पावळा. त्याजकडे आमचे मुदल कर्ज रनपये १०० येस्से आठ आहेत. त्याचे झाँने
संमू वाबीकर दादला केला आहे. त्यास ताकीद करनन रनपये पाठवळे म्हणून
आशा येज्ञास संमू वाबीकरास आवुन तहकिकात करणे. तेसी केली त्यास स्वामी-
कडील कर्नाचा कळ्या संमू मन्त्रुरास कळला नाही. आम्ही बौधा सर सेठे व
वाणी यावरी मन्त्रुकी सोपीली त्याचीं सोनार मन्त्रुराची पूर्वोत्तर हक्कित मनास
आणितां सोनार मन्त्रुर याजकडे स्वामीचे कर्ज वाजवीच त्यापै थावे परंतु सोना (र)
मन्त्रुर यास बाबीका दोन. येक लाऱनाची बाबीको व मूळ तीकडेच आहे. व
हे मुहूर्ताची बाबीको आहे. दोधीने वरावें म्हणून पंचाङ्गितांनीं सांगीतले.
स्वामीचा पैका तुफवावा हे जरनर. त्याजवरनन संमू वाबीकरास ताकीद करनन
नीमे रन।। ये १४ चोपन सोमाजीज्ञव देवीले आणि सोमानीपासून संमू वाबीकरास
फारीस्त लेहन देविली. किंदीत नाहले पाहिजे. बाकी चोपन रनपये राहिले
ते लाऱनाची बाबीको देऊल. सेवेसी कृत होये हे विज्ञापना.

३५३

स्वामी व सरदार

डे. को. बे. सं. २०१९७५ द.

सन् १७१४,

मी

सके १९५० काल्युक्त नाम संक्षरे अस्वीन मुख प्रतीपदा ले दिक्षी सत
घनेंगे नाम श्रीमंति परमहंस श्रीमार्घवाम यासी रीषेंगे नाम रा भेद्यंतराहृ
पवार आत्मकार्य करनासमें तुम्हापासून कर्त्त घेतले मुळ समये १०००१ गेक
दाहा हजार घेतले पाच व्याज दरम्हा दर सदे रु. ॥ स्वा प्रा देवून हे
सत लिहिले. सही । मुश्त.

श्रीमार्घप्रा ← This is a post-Swami
letter.

डे. को. बे. सं. २०१९८१.

श्रीमत्परम होस समाधीस्थ स्वामीचे

स्वेच्छा सगुणवावी

निंबाडकर साचा दंडका विनंती मुपर येपील मुळ जागून स्वकीये कुळ लेण
करीत नावें. या नंतर पत्र पाठविले तें पावले. तर येसेच नीरंतर असीर-
वाद पत्र पाठवून सांमाड करावा. कोठीचे बैल सरीदोस नेंते व्होते त्याचे
हड्य नमातदारांनीं घेतले आहे तें देववें व नीकूण ताकीद करवें कीं लुपसर्ग न
करीत नावें. त्यास हमेजा पनास पाढूनसे बैल कीराण्याचे येतात. दोन-
व्यार घ(रा)चे तेळां ताकीद करावी त्यास गुलोकी नमातदार गाहेत.
आमधी परवानपी त्याक्कहे घालत नाहीं. व कात खन दाहा जेर
पाठविला तो पावला. बहुत काये लिहिले हे विनंती.

श्री

डे. का. बे. सं. २०।५८९.

श्रीमंत महाराज श्री परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी.

बरगदन रथुनाथहरि कृतानेक विज्ञापना मेषील वर्तमान स्वामीचे कृपाक्लोकने करनन यथाइयस असे विज्ञेष. स्वामींनीं बहुता दिवसी कृपा करनन अशीवादपत्र - पाठक्लें तें प्रविहट होणून मतोष आहला. सहभज रनपवे पाठक्लें मळून व वरकड किंतुक अर्थ लिहिला येज्ञास ग्राम्यास स्वामीचे आपेक्षां दुसरी नोठ काय आहे. वरकड आपका अर्थ तरी येक वस्त्रान्ती केचे डालो अर्ये प्रार्थे सर्व योजटीने वराब आहलो तें स्वामीस अवगत्य आहे. त्यास इवामींनीं आज्ञा केली असतां सविस्तर त्याहावा येसा (नाहीं) प्रभुत झारीरी अव्याज जाहली आहे ते सोमानीने आपले दृष्टीने अवस्था पाढीली आहे सेवेसी निवेदन करील त्यावरनन भुत होउली. तूर्त सोमानी वराबरी रत्ना ११० अडीक्से पाठक्लें आहेत कृपा करनन वंगीकार करावया स्वामी सर्व आहेत. सारांश बरगदनास भेजादे जागा विकून घेणे मळून आज्ञा भेली तरी पाच्य आसे. स्वामीचे प्राया विना दुसरा अर्थ नाहीं. स्वामींनीं आज्ञा केली त्यास आम्ही पाच्य असो, सेवेसी सोमानी विनंती करील त्यावरनन सेवेसी कु ठोडील हे विज्ञापना.

श्री

डे. का. बे. सं. २०।१०००.

श्रीमंतमहाराज श्री परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी, बरगदन मल्हार तुकदेव कृतानेक साढ्ठांग नपस्कार, विनंती बुपरी येषील कुशल तां छ १ सफ्टर पर्यंत स्वामीज्ञा असीर्बादे करनन येथाइयस असे विज्ञेष. स्वामींनीं - -

असीर्वादपत्री लिहिले कीं दाहा रनये गवाचे पाठविले ते पावळे. परंतु गाणिक गवतापेकी रन. २ दोन पां न्हजून लि त्याजवरनन देन रनये पाठविले जासेत. ते ध्याचे. बुतर पां. सेवेसी हुत होये विजापना.

स्वामींनीं प्रथं क्षेत्र तक्रासेर पाठविली ती पावळी. विदीत जाले पाहिजे. सेवेसी विजापना.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।१०।१५ अ

राज्ञीया विराजित राजमा न्य राजभी जपन्नाथपंत राखामीचे सेवेसी, पोऱ्य मल्हार तुळदेव कृतानेक साढ्ठांग नमस्कार विनंती कुपरी येथील कुरुक्षेत्र तां ७ २३ साढ्ठान नाशेन रद्यकीये कुरुक्षेत्र लेसन करीत गेले पाहिजे. विजेष. स्वामींनीं मिकाजी संक्षाल याक्करोबर प्रथं पाठविले तें पावळे. लिहिले कीं आवणमासचे बाम्हणाचे दत्तणा वर्षासनाबाबत जालीस रनये पाठवून देणे न्हजून लिहिले. त्याजवरनन दिवाणचे वर्षासनाबाबत आवणमासचे बाम्हणाची दत्तणा मिकाजी संक्षाल याक्करोबर रनये ४० जालीस पाठविले आहेत. येजून बाम्हणाची दत्तणा देखून नावनीहीवार बाम्हणाचे रुद्रन पाठवून दिल्हे पाहिजे. बहुत काय लिहिले कृपालेम असो दीजे हे विनंती.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।१०।१५ अ

राज्ञीया विराजित राजमा न्य राजभी जपन्नाथ पंत राखामी गोसावी यांसी, पोऱ्य मल्हार तुळदेव कृतानेक नमस्कार विनंती कुपरी येथील कुरुक्षेत्र मार्घसीर्व वद विदीतमा

नानून स्वकीये कुळल लेसन करीत असीले पाहिने विशेष श्रीमंतराजी पंतप्रधान स्वामींनीं
श्रीमंतमहाराज श्री परमहंसाचा यांस व्याजाबा। रदक्कोचा येवज मेघन देविला त्या-
पेकी मार्फतीवै पोर्खिमिळा हप्ता रन्ये ११००० तेरा हजाराचे क्लॅन श्रीचे सोमानी
घानेकराबराबर पाठविले तें पावळे. येश्वास सदरहू पेकी दाहा हजार रन. यांचा हवाला
सोमानीने राजीव तदासीव नावीक रास्ते यांचा पहिलेच घातला होता. त्यास
पोतापेकी दाहा हजार रन्ये दिल्हे वाकी तीन हजार रन्ये सोमानीचे हवाला
आघीच घातले त्यांने रन्ये मेंदून घेण्या भेल्या भरन लेले करनन निरात्याच -
नामदारसानीयांत ठेविल्या आहेत. जे तणी प्रयोगन लागेल ते तणीं सोमानीस
पाठवून नामदारसा न्यातून घेण्या गेले पाहिने. सदरहू तीन हजाराच्या येल्या सोमा-
नीने असोनी नावीक तलेकर नामदार यांचे हवाला करनन नामदारसानीयांत ठेविल्या
आहेत. क्लॅने पाहिने. सेना पाबटीयाच्या व घेण्ठीयाच्या पाठविल्या त्या -
पाबल्या बहुत काय लिहिले कृपा लेअ असो दीने हे विनंती।

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।८२२

सन १७२१ पूर्वी.

यादी श्रीस्थलीहून फन(स) पाठविले आहेत येणेप्राप्त देणे.

| | | | |
|---------------|---|------------------|---|
| सठेराव दामाडे | १ | पिलानी यायेक्काढ | १ |
| कठोनी कदम | १ | मलोनी पवार | १ |
| बुधानी पवार | १ | देवूनी सोमवासी | १ |
| चिमानी पंतास | २ | बापुनी पंतास | १ |
| छंलानी पंतास | १ | घेंडेपा पंतास | १ |
| | | संमानीस | १ |

येता प्राप्त पाठविले आहेत. वरकड राहीले ते चिमाने ठेवले. गगर
त्याची वाठ करले. बहुत काये लिहिले हे शासा.

स्वामी व श्रावित.

डे. को. बो. सं. ७२/ १०६४.

सन् १७४० पूर्वी.

श्री

सहमाय चिरंबोध विस्तारीयत वा प्रती राधाकाशी भो माहादुगी
वसीर्वाद वुपरी. येंदील कुल तार फालमुन बहुल व्यादसीयत सुलानप झेल
विसेष. बहुत दिवस तुम्हाकडील काहीं समाचार क्लत नाहीं. यांकरदम
चिंता वाटते. तरी येसे न करें. यांकर भीयत स्वामी (तेपे आहेत)
किंवा नाहीं हे न क्ले तरी काय समाचार क्लमान झेल ते येनारा माफ्सा-
बोरोबोरा लेनुन पाठवें. वरकड मेधील व्हांमान तरी घर बांधेन परमु परडे यास
कुठणी केळी आहे. तुम्हास क्लावें न्हजेन लिता आहे. तुम्ही चमुभासाकाराने
सालें याल तरी सर्व गन्हुल वाहे. चितास येंदील तरी स्वामीची आज्ञा घेणुन
येणे. आमधा अहेत आहे कों खेळ असावें. शारि वीम्बारावें चितास न ये
तरी तुम्ही काय कराउ वरकड गुराबासरास येणे अनुकूल वुलम आहे. झाडपालेशी
बेगमी बहुत वाहे. वर तुमच्या विवारास येंदील तरी दोन माझ्ये देखून गुरे -
पाठवियें टेवाल तरी आम्ही दसरा यावतो येणे आहो तरी आम्हा
पावसाळा दुम्हे असावें तरी दोन गुरे मामान पाठवून नेण्ठ मासी देणे. येणे
तमवसीस वी पाहिजे तरी यावटे व वों तेला वरकड वुलम ने वी झेल व फल
झाडाचे वी झेल ते पाठवून देणे. आम्ही अस्य श्रीतीयेस गोटवें यास नाचार
आहो. तुम्ही व्हा श्रीतीया जाहाळी न्हजें क्लोबां वा। गुरे काय
काय पाठवाल ती पां वहुत काय छिह्नें हे असीर्वाद.

पांठरे ऐसुज्या विसा पां.

श्री

दे. खा. दे. सं. १२१४३९.

सन् १७४०.

श्रीपंतराज्ञी चिमनाशीपंत दादा व राज्ञी बॉडोपंत बाबा व राज्ञी
बापुजी पंत यावा साहेबाचे सेवकी

सेवक अमोनी साळवी सेवकी विज्ञापना तां ४ ७ झावळ परंतु साहेबाचे
कृपाकलोकने करनन कारसानासह कर्मान सेम असौ विशेष श्रीपंत यावा स्वामीचे
झरीरीं आरोग्या नाहीं म्हणैन कर्मान बाबिकिले तेनेकरन खांची तोडे वाली
आहेत. मेशास तुम्ही तो काहीच ठिहिले नाहीं. शाज्जरितां तहकीकातीस
नारोवी उनेहा पाठविला गाहे. सारांज सावंदाचे नोवास अरे असीले ज्ञावेकरनन
दृढ असीले म्हणने त्यांत सर्व जीव आम्ही सुस भोवू नाहीं तरी आम्हास पुस्तो कोण
याज्जरितां सर्व प्रकारै देवी शुभाये व बोऱ्यां शुभाये व काहीं देवास आम्हण काहीं
बनुष्ठान प्रसंग करावा देवावर भार घावल्यास देव आरोग्य करोठ. भासेति
काही वेळ घाळून बोऱ्यां शुभाये करवै आम्ही सेवक लोक लिहावे मेसे नाहीं. सर्व-
ज्ञ तुम्ही वहीठ आहाच कोणेहा शुभायांस बंतर नाहाले न्येंल आम्ही लिहावे मेसे
नाहीं वरकड येथे न्यें लोक ठेविले बांडेत त्याचे महिने भरोन घार रोन माहा
रोन मेसे कोण कोणाचे बाडाले बाटणी बदल हांका नाहीतर म्हसात
ने आम्ही तत्याचे कारसानावर वातो भाहामार्दीचे पेठास सध्या पाहिने मेशास
त्यास दोन महिने नाची बेगमी करनन पाठविणै. न्यें लोकाची बाद पाठविली
गाहे. वरकड भोठकी यास पावण रन॥। प्राता पेका यावा लास्तो त्यास पेका
पाहिने पाढे करीयास बीघ रन. संकार दिल्हा होता त्यास रनयमे देने लाफ्तात
दो यो रोवी पाढे या यही धरणार त्याचीही बेगमी भेली पाहिने. तीस रनयमे

माठेस नहिना पाहिजे. तरी बेगमी लोकत्र करनन पाठविली पाहिजे. लोक
निधान खेळावर मम दुपार नाहीं. स्थास त्यावितेप नव्या लोकावर सहा
नाहीं नाहीं. महिना मरुडा म्हणजे निधान घानार येते आहे आपडा विष्वासू
पाठ्यून घाटणी करवये भीचे येथे कर्तमान साकल्य लेहून पाठविले पाहिजे हे विनंति.

हे॥ प पोऱ्य नारोराम करवद्यें नोहून साठांव नमळार विनंति ठि॥
पर्सोन अप्यत्य कृपा करीत येते पाहिजे. भीचे नारोरामाचे वर्तमान साकल्य
लिहोन पाठविले पाहिजे. तेंवरनन स्तोष इोढीउ प्राप्तुत नीव दुःख भेडा आहे.
बहुत काय लिहावें कृपा करीत झसोले पाहिजे. चिरंनीवाशा हांभाळ करविजे
हे विनंति.

हे पां राज्यो अल्यंतरावास नमळार व रामराम विनंति. लिंग
पर्सोन लोम अरीत येते पाहिजे हे विनंति.

हे विनंति.

श्री

डे. का. डे. सं. १२५१२५ उरवणी

सन १७४० यूवी.

पुरकी राम विमानी पंत रथामीष

येसवी ठिहिले कीं छां घरीवाकडील योदीनवा
हिसेव तू केला निवडीला तो पाठवयें
तरी वाम्हास योदीन काये ठाकुरी परंतु
बीस्वामी येथे होते तेळा राधेसंशानी
वास बोलीले की तेल योदीन पैकी वारामन

व बोधा तांव्या दुपा पीतली
फुठला तो मुवर्ण दुर्गास पाठविला
तो बाजाप बाला नाहीं. तेथून
कायद जातील तरी आविला
पाहिजे.

यें पेठ्यामें त्यावसन आळी सुर्का
दुर्गास लिहिछे हातें. की आराम
तेल नंदादीपाचे पाठ्यामें त्यास त्या
कडील माव(प) नाचे तेल ववन कच्चे
१. ४।।० यें पेठ्याले असे.

पुढे नंदादीपास तेल पाव साठी
नाहाळी पाहिजे. विक्री घावे
तरी सरसेला कडील काढो येत नाहीं
विदीत बाहाले पाहिजे.

यें प्राप्त ऐयील वर्तमान आहे विदीत बाहाले पाहिजे.

होआ तीर्थनव घोडापंतासी मारा नमळार विनंति शुर्पा तुफ्फे सासफ्फा
मुक वेळी पुण इता खांगा मांडकेर बामाळी ००४ येक पामली पाठ्यिले असे
ती घेले पाहिजे बहुल काय लिहियें असीबांदपन पाठ्यून साभालकीजे हे विनंति.

श्री

डे. डॉ. वे. सं. १०१११०.

सन १७३४.

श्रीमंति स्वामीजे सेकेसी जरनरन स्टडीजी मालवी विद्यापना येसीने जाहेवा-
पासून ग्रात्मकार्बानिमित्य लीकानीजे सानाम घेले रन्यामे २५ पंचवीस सवावी व्याने
करार करनन घेले असेत. पुढत माहे १२ बारा पुढतीस व्यान व पुढल बाष्पून देवूं.
ठ १ माहे जीलकाद मुआ बांधा समाहोन मिया झलफ्फ हे खत लिः।। सही सात

व्यावी गुजर

क-हाडकर ।

रन्यामे

११ ४ २ रन्या

येळी १२ फटोरोन दिल्हे सन समान.

बाकी १
१७

ठ ८ जीलकाद
बा समान स्टडीनी

ठ २२ जीलकाद सन समान.

बाकी ७ ठेळाकर्डे पुढल ५ समे.

श्रीमार्कोराम

हे. का. डे. सं. २०।६।४३.

सन् १९१८.

श्रीमंत परमहंस श्वामी याही

चिरंनीव चिमणानीस आज्ञा केली येसीने तुमचे हात थरे जाले नाहीं. याज(करितां) आम्ही काये करावें. तर तुम्ही आपलो तूप रोटीस अंतर न कर्णे नाहींतर जापले छाळ क्वाळ. ज्ञानय खुपाये असन वर्ते होयें जावीने. अंतानीस सांगावे कीं घडी-पेंथ धोर कं टाकीलां । तुम्हास धी साकूळ वरहे. आम्हास अीने ठाकीले वाहे. वीरमाडेया ची आडे तुम्हास पुसेन म्हणून अलोनीस सांगयें. जपा (१) अंदेन व सिदेनी हें कोयें तुम्हीने केलाव तर त्याचा सला नाशुन कोळ घेवें. हे तुम्ही नर आपनास वरे असन घेवा (२) नहीं तर आम्ही हे अभ्यं सोहून रामे-अवास जावू. कोणी वग्न्याधा ची आज्ञा भेडोली तर त्याक्षर आम्जा केप होवील. येसे पुरी समजें. याहूपर भाजी वगर दासे अ

आसन आमज्ञा पाया व्याप ... बहुत काय ठिहिनें.

श्रीमार्कोराम

हे. का. डे. सं. २०।६।४५१.

श्रीमंत परमहंस श्वामी याही,

चिरंनीव चिमणानीस आज्ञा केली येसीने. सरकारची सासर पाठविली आडे. टेबाक्याब्दल सांठवें पाहिजेस. तर सरकारचा पेका वेषून राज्य भेटे भेटे वेषून सासर त्रीनी निगा करनम ठेवें. व जिन्स पाठविला आहे तो ठेवें. तूप पागर ; धरणी रिकामी ; पाखीपेस कम्माली नोडे ; सासर वोडे ; या अजन सासर ६१। येनेप्रम जिन्स आला वाहे. घेवे. सरकारचा जिन्स सासर

बरी निया करन ठेवें अद्यत कामे लिहिने हे आणा. पापरी साळी^(१) टो बाहे ते वापुवी पंतांची ते स्थास देवें. तापाची सडी सरकारची बाढे ते देवें हे आणा.

श्री

ठ. कॉ. ले. सं. २०।८४७.

सहवायु घिरंगीव शिष्याजी आवा व जगन्नाथ आसी आणा केलो येणीजे. आम्ही घावडमीहून स्वार नाहलो ते ३९ विलेनी लीभली पावलो व सरसेलाळ्हील खोटे मे लो तुम्हाक्षु लेले आहेत ते वाचून त्याचा मळूद काय असेल तो तपसील वार लिहून पाठवें. मेह घडीचा दिरंग न कर्णे. व झंगाने गावचे कुळ्यां या पासून पैकेच व्यूल करावे. व झंगाने फर्खावे नावावे काष्ठ आवावे हे दोघे नाकर पानी गुलाम.... लागतो.

तुम्हाळे बंधानी धारया पाठविला आहे. वे काम पडेल ते यें. रात्रीची शेकी पाहारा करील. वरा वाहणा मनुष्य (१) त्यासी लेनात दरमाहे रुपये व्यार प्राप्त करार केले आहेत. त्यास नक्कद मागेल तरी नक्कद देवें. फक्त मागेल तरी मला देवें. त्यावे हर प्रकारे वालवें पानीपाला ताक्याची घटातून देत नार्हे व आमची पलंगडी होती तेथे त्यासी वाच मेह करन घेऊन तेथे राहील व आम्ही डंगे दोने वेळी रन्न घातल्या आहेत त्या प्राप्त घाडी पावेहो घालवें व फुलझाडे पद्मनाभ व जागी येसी दोन प्रकारची झाडे पाप आहेत ती वाची नवीक लावें व कानून्या वियाही पाठविली आहे. ते अनेकाहीचे आपात पेरववें.

श्रीभार्गव

डे. को. बे. सं. २०१६९०.

श्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी याही

सहजायु चिरनीष्‌वाचा केली भेसीने. यें नारोवाचे व गोविंदाचे

लांवें नाही तर्थ वेज अहुत. आजकरितां लर्णास पैका पाहिजे. तरी
 पाठ्यां. तुम्ही बोलीलेस कीं आम्हास येक वेळ गोदातीरीं नेहून ठाक्ये
 म्हणौन आम्ही छिपा यत्न केला कमतां माझी तुम्हीं कोक्काचा देत घरीतां
 मेषे पिण्डाच वाघा अहुल आहे. आणि गुरावर अहार आहेच. आणि मागती
 आम्ही छिपा यत्न कनन वरती टेवीले तेही कुळ नाढील. कान्होजी
 यांगो यान्हाड आम्ही कांहीं लर्णास मारीतले तर थावे कीं न थावे येसे समर्थां
 केलोवा मुख्यानो सांगेल ते आवीक्ये. पार्वत्या ज्यारीही नाहल्या दावानेही
 नाहीले. अर्देत्या कढील कठमाचा तसनस नाहठा म्हणून तुम्ही दिलगीर न
 हेही. मार्ग समर्थ आहेत. येथुन पायसे पाठ्यिली आहेत. यान्हाड तंत्राकृ
 सर्वं असल्यासारीभा मन देण या उन्नूळ पडेल तिलक पाठ्यां लावाकास
 दाहा सुप गुराम असतील तेसे पाठ्यां अहुत काय ठिहिऱ्ये हे आज्ञा.

डे. को. बे. सं. २०।८१ (ब).

लहजामु चिरंनीव विर्षाम वाजा केली येसेने तुम्हास यें प्रमाणे वाजा
केली वाहे.

येथे नानसे कोण इतासाले नाहीं
नहणून खोटा येक पां पाहे. तो
संभाजी बांधरे यासी रवाना करन
बांधे वाणून घाव्यासीस रवाना करन
न व्हार केलीयास वरा नाहीं.

खोटा तीन पां पाहेत. ते येक
रानुरीस देणे व येक अनन्वेळीस व
येक मोक्षेटा स रवाना करन
तेवील काय ते बुता बेबील ती
रवाना करन प्रां वाचीने.

व सुरचंद

फिलालीयास विक्ष घेणून पां.
रन।। दाहा देणे विन्नस विक्ष
घेणून पाठ्यर्थ.

परमात्मा कारकून तीन वाहेत.
त्यास मुंदासी सुख्ली तार
। हिंवे दादास.
। तांबडे शादूस.
। पांढरे वापूस.

येणे प्रां देणे जाचीने. रवाना
उ २० रां भर.

राषेनी वाजंनी यास रतीवा प्रां
ग्हा दिल्हा पाहिने. नामलीचे दार्चे
मात .। पाच मन दीने जाचीने.
वाचिक विन्नस देणे. नागली व मात
.। पाच मन दीने. येणे प्रां बुता
पां बनसान न करणे जाचीने हे वाजा.

डे. का. बै. सं. २०।१०६.

रामार्दी भोज मुग सांबेटकी यासी आजा बेली जेति. उत्तम दुलीया पावेतो ज्यार माझी वाठी दिली अस्तां लर्हास पापतोस हे काय ! सुल्तान मार्दी सांपतो ने केचास येक महिया पोइच्छा केचास देवन महिने पावले रनपये काय नाले । न बलत यान्मरितां देसत कागद सन सीत व गुदस्ताचे रुमाल घेणून हिसेबास यें तुझा घंडा कार वास्तु दिलेतो. हाठी शुल्तानमार्दी यावल र. १०० देवने ज्यार माझी खेरीन वाच दिली आहे. रनपये बुमानस ठेणून लर्ह करै. तो शुल्तानमार्दीचे विष्वासानें करै. आवी ताच ताथवडाचे बेपरी बेली ते रनपये केचास काय दिले ले शुल्तानमार्दीचे भोइयाने याजसाचे याजूस रन्न भोडा करन त्याचे यादी बोधाचे सातीने भोष्म लिहेन घेणून यें. हिसेब वालीयावरी पुढे भोइयास येणून कारवून पाठवून येक रनपयास तप्पावल पडली न्हजबे रनपयास असा रन. १० पहलील पुतै समव्यें नाहीते. लोचारी येपे खाढकी बोलीठा. तु चोदा खंडी भुना हिसेब लिहून पाठविलास वाचि याप सुल्तानमार्दी यान्मरु पुस्तो. ग्राठ खंडी पावले येसे कसे लिहिले । तो लोचारी घेणून वाच भोइयास यें नाहीते ॥ ११ तोवल. हे वाचा.

ठे. कॉ. ले. सं. २०।१०७.

श्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी याङ्गडी

रामाचार्ण मनेज मुआ तले ताथवडा यासी गाडा केली येतीने. ताथवडा याचिमारतीम
याकर कांडो हिसेब प्राप्त रुपये वाटणी दिली असलां लोकास पावली नाहीं रुपये
कोठे (३) ले ते यनास ग्राममें ग्राम लांबेठकीचे तळमावरील हिसेब य ताथवडा ये हिसेब
वनीता याकर घेवन कीदोर्चे घेवून येवै. येते पाच सुख्तानकाशी यान्हारा गेले असलां
वधाप स नाहीं. येता नादान हाळी देसत कागद बडाचीचे हिसेब घेवन
कीदोर्चे रुपालें घेवून येवै. ग्रामी केलीयास फक्तीत पावसोल. नानीने ४ २४ ज्ञायल
दे गाडा.

ठे. कॉ. ले. सं. २०।१०८.

श्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी याङ्गडी

रामाचार्ण मनेज गारकून य सुख्तानकाशी इवालदार विहीर ताथवडा यासी
गाडा केली येतीने. पूर्वी सुन्हास लिहिले होते को जे विहीरीवर लोकी न घेतव्यें
घरां करवै. पाची प्रथ्य सुरुंन करीतो पाचीयाचे (मनाची) न करवै चितास येतील ते
नेतील येते लिहिलें असलां पाचती तुम्ही ल(वा)डी करन रसवाली यास ठेवून आम्हा
याचीका नातात झांस सीधीगाढी देता धाचती फेताडीता येती असादा करीतां
या गोळटीचा लोकीक आभास सातारापावेतो केलात (त्यास) तुम्हास काय म्हणावे (१)
(फाठले) वाहे. मुझ लोक आचतील वा अ मंडळी याचीका
यास पाची देवै. सिवा गाली दिलीयास सुपव मुठा इवा होपार नाही. विहिरी-
मध्य न झाहे तो दोन घर फेताडून पाची ग्रांड लोगोन लोक सुल पावत ते करवै
येतिसी ग्रामी न करवै (फाठले).

श्री

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०१९०९.

चिरंबीच होडोपंत व जगन्नाथ यांसो बाणा केली खेतीने तुम्ही पत्र
पाठकिले ते पावेन लिहिले कृत विदीत नाहले. ब्राम्हणाकिसी लिहिले येशास
लाभ करितां मे ब्राम्हण छिक्कीले ते अत चितीयेस लाकर्ते तेलंग ब्राम्हण आयन
घेणून गाले तर त्यास भना न करौं. लेलांयास ब्राम्हण न पाठवौं. आर
दिवस ब्रह्मठानास लापत्ती तरी लावून ब्रुतम संयादर्दें. परंतु अतचितीयेस
प्रारंभ करौं. साष्ट्री नें चिन्मस लावेल तो खरीदी करौं. वारकड दसगेची
तुम्हास नीरवन केलीच वाहे. ब्राम्हण उपांतुक खेळील त्यास दसणा बाकर
विसे प्राप्त देवै. ब्रह्मठान समाप्त होडील त्या दिक्की पाढ्यांस विष्टरी
दो यावास लेणन, बाल, बाबीका बाबाळ बुद्धास खेळ घालौं. दोही
यावचे दुलज्जीं साहसरेस नें. जाचीने तेली खेळासे गाले तरी त्याखा सामाचिज्ञ
करनन झर्डा झर्डा येकादण्ठी संयोग दसणा पावला प्राप्त देवै. जाचीने. छ २७
नोहरम हे बाणा.

चिरंबीच बालास चिमारी कूऱ झर्डावाद ब्रुपरी तुम्ही येत्ये सम्भी
ब्रापुजीपंत नाना याची भेट घेणून येवै. विज्ञेय काय लि।। हे झर्डावाद.

श्री.

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०१९१०.

श्रीमंत परम(हंस) स्वामी याही

चिरंबीच गोंड बाल यासी बाणा केली खेतीने. बोरक्कावारावरा
पत्र पाठकिले ते पावेन लिहिले कर्तमान विदीत नाहले. प्रतिनिष्ठीस पत्र

पाठ्यमें महून लिहिले तरी त्याचे स्वारीने गाव लुठला घरे भोदून कुळीया थी
 आपून अलम घातखास रवेत पलाली महून तूच पत्रीं लिहिले बागाचे गृहगे भोदून
 बागात घोडी आरीतात. येसे स्पलाचे तुर्फन नाले आणि कामद काय महून
 लिहावे । तू रायास सांभोन बागेत घोडी घालाक्याचे क्वांसी कर्दिलीस
 नाहीत । जासील. यासे लावीतां कामास न येत तर रमेतीस रसवाली
 देखून वाढीचे सेते लावाबो होती. आतां कामद लिहिल्यास काय होणे आहे
 वरकड बंतानी कृत्य करकरे म्हणतात आपास येके ठिकाची भेदून पोदख्या तरी
 त्यास पत्र लिहिले आहे. आर पापसे पांच भाष्ये तुम्ही रनया प्रमाणे देवं
 करनन तक्काचेने माझसे अलिङ्गे बापून हुवरीलीस पाखील करां. बंतानी कृत्य
 यास सांकर्ये माझसे विल्हेस लाधून तुम्ही भावन मासास बापले हुशवर लेकर
 नाऱ्ये. पुढे दसरास माझसे बांधोलीस भेदून नाऱ्ये. आम्हास हुदा लावाक्यास
 त्याचे तुर्फन रायाक्यास श्रम काय लाग्ला आहे आणि तूं घरी राहील हुदा
 हुडाला तर यम मनाग बोल नाही येसे घट्ट सांकर्ये तुम्ही जोरा आहा
 चिंता काय आहे । योरक्क्ले पढलीयावर कामद रनमाल हुवरील पावसे करां
 याचे आकी साकी मायेच असूल घेला महून लिहा ते न घेकिले साक्ष व्है
 महोन तोनार

बारासार करितां तर कामास येती.

न येती. हाली कोठीचे घाऱ्य दीचे येले काय आहे काय हे तपसील्यार लिहोन
 पाठ्यमें. चिकानीचे वरकडांचे काय येले । ते लिहिलें कोळ्येसा इलडी पायेतो
 प्रात होते. येसे केळ्य सांमो. हाली क्यां आरीक असहील ते वांवड्यकर
 रमेतास कर्य पाहिने तर देवं. बुरले प्रापा नमाच वाला आहे तो विश घेतील.
 तरी देवं. सविस्तर वर्णनान लिहिने तुळ्या लिहिल्यावरन रायास व गान्दराम्
 सोमेयंशी सराउकर मास पर्यं पाठ्यिली आहेत. प्रविठ्ठ करनन तुतर काय देतील

तर दें वाही प्रश्निपदेस कृत्तातीरो समाधीस बेसठो. भेसावा प्रतिपदा
वालीयावर येवीळ. नाहीने. रात्र च ४ सप्तर हे आजा. मुरे भाव
सरतां काढूने. रसाड घासाली नेवले पुढे उक्कर ————— देवीळ.
वाचीने. नारन घासेकराने आपणे माथव्य वाणायास पाठविले वाढे. मामास
संभोन रवाना करूने.

वी

ड. कौ. बै. सं. २०१९३१.

श्रीमंत वरकहंसस्यामी याही विट्ठीय लखोजी साळवी इवाळदार
वासी आजा केली येतीने कारसा च्यास भर्चाची बेगमी पाहिजे याज्ञकरितां
बेगमी येकदाच करनन दिली वाढे. सेनगडची हुंडी लेले मायाम व्होवा
मावीक याची आली वाढे. ते हुंडी पेकी रनपमे २००० व तुम्ही सीलीक
यावात खोकिंदपंताकडेस ठेविली से रु॥। १००० व घावजी इरपले
पेकी रनपमे ५४० साज्जे चालिस ये॥। रनपमे १५४० तीन हजार कासे चालिस
याची बेगमी करनन दिली असे. तुम्ही श्रीमणीयायरवंत भर्चाचा बोमाट न
लिहिये वर्च तंपदस्तीने करून तुम्ही मासलेते तुम्हावर क्याल फेनाहून घेऊन,
फारसे कट्टीकरन का हे आजा. येकांदर न्या वाकर ————— ठेवाव-
यासी दरकार नाहीं व तेनात व॥। हुक्मी खल्याव्यमासी ————— प्रयोगम
नाहीं. दसरा नाहला भजने दादास पाठविलो वाचीने.

श्री

डे. को. बे. सं. २०१९५०.

श्रीमत वरद्धन सचामो याही पिंगीव चिमाजीस आजा केली
येसीने. तुम्ही यादेयामध्यी जोकी पाहारा लेकाकरवी करविला युस्ती
न करणे योस्त करवीत जाऱे व लेकांचे काम घेत जाऱे. व लापेनी
जांब सुतार याचे गोताविली देवरस्फर कुंमार व ठंनेकर कुंमार याचे न
करीत महून लिहिले तरी हिमून याचे पारपत्य रत्नाचिरीहून वावूराव
याच्यून करविलो. त्यास अपेनी जांब सुतार यास सांगें व देववी लोय-
वंसी याचे गाष्ठ लोटा पाठविला तो नीवाजी कृत्य याज्ञल देणे तो
पावते करील. बहुत काचे लिहिले हे आजा. यदाचित मोळोनी कडील
सरगासिंप खोडी व वरकड कांडी जानील तरी लाले तापून देणे. आपणा
ज्युल ठेवन व कृष्णाजी पवार याचे रनपये आले की याही ते लिहिले हे आजा.
पाने विडे याची झासीदा वरावर सु।। ५०० पाच्ये पाठविली असेत. देणे
सदरहु पाने सु।। दोनसे येकून १०० सातसे पाठविली असेत. हे आजा. जानीने
घरे साक्कालेने वर्तीने हे आजा.

श्री

डे. को. बे. सं. २०१९५२.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| फिंकास आजा केली येतीचे. तुम्ही पर ठी।। ते प्लोन लिए व्हायान विदीत आले. याचे सुतार | पंजीस मास सुन्याचे काम काम वाढू आयायास ठेवणे ११ ये।। | शृङ्ग सासफत दोन काढीली नाहस्या त्या मुळाडी वडल कोठी घेऊन जाऱे. गृळ व काकवी दोन मन टेविली आहे. |
|--|---|---|

कुप सरकारचा उपकर असली तर गावचे
केंद्र नेहून मात्र मुरव्याचे मुंबीस आवर्णे.
होतले पाढूभिंवे वर्तमान छि।। ते कल्ले
विज्ञानपठ, महिपतगडचा शुप्रदव वन्नी-
वर सरलेलाचे स्वाधीन करावें मऱ्यून
लिः।। तर भराठे वापले आव्हीकर
नाडा सोड्यार त्यांचा विश्वास नाही,
सरलेलास लिहिले. त्यांची कछूल मेंडे
तर बरै. नाहीतर माळंगाचा (माहा-
हुंगाचा) क्षूल झाडून खें. गावची
वाजा टाळै. योस होतील तर होतू
दें. तितका शुपकार कर देवी गाव
वेस करवै.

सोने ६६१. देवासाठी

६६११ प्रसीपा
बाबदे घटास दक्षिणा रु॥। १ तीन.
नवा कर्णा मेषून ... पूर्णगडास
पाठविला वाहे. तो गोठण्यास देवा-
नज्जुल वावर्णे. तुका कर्णा आहे तो
विहून पितळ फानन वरता पाठवै.

कापद इंसेक्ट विभाग भी देव.

टीपः (पिंडी - पिकास.

मोखल - देवासाची तव्हांदी

पापडी - सालची फरसवंदी

बाबदेपठ वाठस्ये त्याक्षेत्राचा नेवातील ऐश प्रसिद्ध शुपाव्या)

मऱ्यून लिः। तर ते तुम्ही सार्वे.

कोठीस न ठेवै.

पावडी, पडारा, घिंडी कामाठी

विस्ताद असेल ते झाडून पाठवै.

आप्या याच ठेवै. पुढे येथील काय

वालीमाझर येका महिन्यांत लक्ष्यावी

पाठून पोवल्या पापडी, घर्याचाला कर.

मुलाड्याचे सामान झाले तर कृष्णपठ

देसांगी माणसे खेडून जाऊल. आव्हीमार
तुव्हार ठाकीला वाहे.

पन्नास बाभून लावून बाबदे पठ नेहून

दर्शा करै. शिराच १० बाबूनास दत्ता
रूपये पन्नास बाभून येवन होकील.

त्यास दर ससमी प्राप्त देवे.

सामान तुरेल से नवन कोठीत ठेवै.

किंवा लोकास नेवन घालै.

सघणी - ऐश नावे.

स्वामीचे चारिन्य व स्वभावनिर्दर्शक.

डे. को. डे. सं. १२ / १०६६.

((स्वामी - राजी))

(जाफर) राबाद परमेवांत पण्य(ली) चे रानूरी काम लावाले आहे ते देखल होते आहे. पांचले भाष्ये कारसाना आहे. त्यास वाटणीस पेका काये देता हे तुम्हास बिदीतब आहे. तरी तरी. पाठवित्यास येव्हा सध्या वाटणी पाहाव्यासी होगील बाबी, बलतीस विहीर पाढीली. पाची आगले. मेरे नाया नागा कारसाना लागले आहेत. तुम्हास भीषा प्रसाद पन्नास पेठी चार सेर पाठविली आहे. पेका आला न्हाने बाणीसी प्रसाद पांढरी मध्य पाठवून देखू.

अंग्रे?

(स्वामी - गळांगी)

डे. को. डे. सं. २०।४९०.

बाबा बवध्यासेव यो-ह का कीती कुला बा घरी घसर्यास येऊल. बान्ही आनीं पनीं पाडोन गेतविंदी यास झोरावाद दिल्हा तीर्थ दिल्हे त्याव्या नाये नीपासी वाढीस पन्नास उद्द नेवाक्यासी घाले. पांची पांडवांने अशायी नाय चालते. बाबा धन्य तुम्हे पुन्य सकलती जाइलास बुंगारपुराचे राने देखून गेले. व नायलीचे चंद्रराजू नेते होखून गेले. तमशास हुमुल, बिगडेल, पुर्णकाल, बाबा तर हा बोड तुला चास पडोला मेरा जाणता झक्कती पेटास आलास. तुम्ही कस्ते पाठविली परंतु मातुधीने काही मताव्यासी पाच नाहीं. मन लेहावर दया म्हा देणे. तुमचेच म्हे करीतो जेता बासी, वाढीयातून पाच असे तीचेही वरे जाहलें नी रानी ग्रीरा आण प्हार घालास आली (फकाले).

त्री

ड. का. अ. सं. २०।६४८.

भीमं माहारान राज्ञी परमदंस वाका स्वामीचे सेवेसी विद्यार्थी
 सोपारायक्ती राधाबांगी भोसली कृतानेक साठांग दंडवत विनंती स्वामीचे
 कृपा उवलोक्न करनन तां पूज वृष चतुर्थी परयेत समस्त कुळे झो यानंतर
 स्वामीनी असोर्वादपत्र वहुता दिवसा पाठविले ते पावेन परम समाधान जाहेले.
 ते हेवनावें. येसेच नीरंतर परीं सांमाल करीत असीले पादिजे. यानंतर
 बालानी अनंत व बाल गोली यानवा। पवलीयाची माड १ येक पाठविली येण।।।
 पोक्ती मुपा ११ त्याची कीमती १।।। ११० दिल्से सावकाराने घनत
 करनन आन्नास दिली ते माल तुपयोग्य प्रमाद माल खेले म्हणोन आघा. आशे-
 वरनन पोक्तीयाची माल मळाग मध्यं म्हजावे तरी स्वामीचे हतीचे माल त्याची
 कीमती करीता न्यै दिल्से रनयेसे रुकुल केले त्यास हे शुभ्यतानीही पाणीतले.
 त्यावरनन माल ठेवून घेऊ. तूर्स लंबाची वोढी होती त्याजरितां सेवेसी
 द।।। बालानी अनंत व बालगोली यानवा। रु।। १०० सेवर पाठवीले आहेत.
 पन्नास रु। ही येका महीनीयाने पाठविलो. त्यास हे शुभ्यता माल पाघारी
 घेऊ येत होते. नग आम्ही स्वामीस पत्र दिल्हे वाहे. गुल । पाव मन
 व बाकीचे रु। पन्नास येसे येका महीनीयाने पाठविलो. देआये याजमे पाठ-
 वाक्यास आज्ञा करनन पाठविले पादिजे. सेवेसी बहुत लिहावे तरी जापण
 सूझ आहेत. नक्षत्रे याकरितां देआ..... सना १ य।। वरन रनया-
 नार १ य।।। रु।। ५ तोला रु।। १ रु।। येक सेवेसी... पां आहेत.
 पोक्तीयाचे शुता पाठवावे हे विनंती.

डे. का. खे. सं. २०।१४२.

श्रीमत्यरमहोस परीक्षाज्ञातार्थ विरचित मृगुनदन स्वतन्त्र बाया
स्वामीचे सेवेसी,

विंती सेक्क संपानी सिद्दे नामज्ञाद किले रसाभगठ कृतानेक विज्ञापना.
ला ३ २४ रप्नान पावेलो ल्यासीचे क्यै दृष्टी करनन किलाचे व सेक्काचे वर्णन
येपास्थित असे. यानंतर स्वामीने आवापन पाठ्यिले तें पावळे. तें आज्ञा : —

पंधरा गाव तलवङ्डी बादर येपील क्ले
सामान घेऊन पाठ्यिले होते. त्यासी
कोणी घालमेल अनन मिळी सात -
यासी सांगीत्ये. त्याचा कागद
आला तो पाठ्यिला.

त्यानवरनन सकल उर्य क्ले आला.
बऱ्हास न्यांनी ल्याडी भेली भ्रसेल
त्याचा ब्राधांत आहो. विचारे करनन
पारपत्य करीतो. विदीत देणे.

प्रजन्म्बळ समीप आला. तरी
वासे लोकर पाठ्यून देणे म्हणोन आज्ञा
केली तर हुऱ्हार कुलावाचे हुऱ्हमासेरीन
वासे पाढोतां कार्यास येत नाहीं.
आम्ही मुनरद वासे मायिसी ठिहिले
होते परंतु हुऱ्हानन आज्ञा आली नाही.
मान्मूरितां वासे वर धाठे

रेसिन सिलेस आहे ते पाठ्यून देणे
म्हणोन आज्ञा नाली त्यान वरनन
रेसीम सिलेस येये होते तेव्हे पाठ्यि
ले आहे. पाठ्यिलीमाचे गुत्तर
पाठ्यिने.

योपऱ्हमा पाठ्यून देणे म्हणोन आज्ञा
केली तर वस्तवानी श्रीस्थलीहून आली
तेव्हा योपऱ्हमा आह्या नाहींत. आ-
णि आम्ही कोटून पाठवावा ने वस्त
येये आली नाहीं तेच लेहून पाठ्यितात
तरी आम्ही काये करावे ।

येपे वस्तवानी श्रीस्थलीहून आली
व पेसीनी कापड टेलील आहे बऱ्हास
मेक कारकून स्वामींनी येये पाठ्यूला
तो सारी वस्तवानी पाढोल आणि
ने अस वस्त पाहीने ते पाठ्यून तेयेही

कार्यास न ये हुक्मालेरीज लोक पाठ-
किले तर जब्द लाभेन विलान
होतील हे स्थामीस किंदीतच आहे
आणि वारंवार स्थामीने वासे याच-
किंवा न त्याहावै. किंदीत होतील.
गंगाड पाठक्कें म्हणोन आज्ञा केली
त्यावधान गंगाड तुने याचे होते ते
पाठकिले आहे. किंदीत होने.

सांबरी नोडा । येक मुख्येद करनन
पाठक्कें म्हणोन आज्ञा केली त्यावधान
सांबरी नोडा । सांबरीच संमानी सौभून
पाठकिला आहे. किंदीत होये.

येणेहमार्ये सेवेती शुत दोय हे विश्वायना.

श्री

डे. को. डे. सं. १२ / १०५१.

सन १७१६-४०.

सो पानें ज्यानें गुणे भरतात ती खात असे ते केलेस बाळानीपंतनाना
व माहादनी अस्ताड सुमेदार धरकारकून चिम्हुनी होते ते केलेस देवें प्रगट करनन
आपले नांव टेवीले. संसाचाऱ्ये आम्ही असे ल्हावे त्यास लोक मज्जात, ते
मेलोयावर सिस्य करतात लेता पी व्हावै तुम्ही आपले वडीलाचे नांव रात्रे वरने
पाठकिली ते आम्ही घेतार नव्हतो परंतु काय करं । चिरंजीव दादोषा बाले
मान्करितां वसने ठेवून घेतली. तुमचे तौर्भरनवी देवास घाटा दोन

वे पेटीया देन व पालती देतुं केली जाहे. त्यावे वरन सर्वे करावे असेल तरी
पाठवो. देनव्ये वासे पन दरम्हीं मुलेस्वरास रखाचा करावे. नाहीतर देव
नाहीं येणे लिहिवे. लही बाजा घन लाखुं नाहा. तुम्हास देवी ब्रात्या
त्या वया नाहत्या हेच पाझी पांधुरां असत. तुम्ही वरे जालेत हेच लक्ष
वर्णे पावली. ब्रह्मा येता तरी वर्णे यी न येतो. दादेवा वाले याज-
करितां वर्णे घेली. पांगे समाधीत बाजीरायाची वर्णे परतवीली तुम्हास
विदीतच जाहे. यी पाजाचा मुकेला असे. मल्युदे तरी योन पाढा मान
राईत जावे. सर्व प्रकारे तुम्हावर दया जाहे. तुझे तीघे मातु तुम
घरांत नेशून (फाठले).

धीमाग्यराम.

ड. का. जे. सं. (२०५४) अ.

या प्रमाणे करीत जावे.

प्रासःकाली शुद्धान नामहमरण करनन
कुपरांत घाडी गुरे मांचा परामर्ज
करनन ज्ञात्यास नाडून ज्ञात्यविष मुक-
प्रहात्य करनन काम्हान लोकास
सांगून वार घट्का जेताचा परामर्ज
करनन स्नानसंव्या देवताच्चन मोजन
करनन मागती काम पाढून चार
घट्ला फिसेब लिहिवे पाहावे. १.
कुम्भोषीची घरे मिंती घालून नोड
घालून वासे ज्वेताचे अमर नानालीचे

परसातील घर बेंडोल नाहाले ते
बुलगदून आत बाहेर नोठणी करनन
गाडे शुंभ देतुन सूर्यानीचे घराकडील
मिंत गन देन गन मेंगील त्याप्रमाणे
दगडी घालून माहुटी नोहून जाडे
शुंभ देतुन नोते पठणीसे नोघे दगड
सायरात आहेत ते आहूने फेत्ताहून....
मोठी कावुन तुलानीकून तामवुन
गाड्या वरनन झापुन नोते करावे. २.
महाराकडील ओठा, हनारी रन।।

- रायाड बाबुन कोठे पाठावी. अंत्यास
सीन स्थ देहून शुभिलीळ दोन दोन
स्थ देहून बाबी राहील से सुली येक
दोन स्थ राहील ते खेल्या आधाव-
क्यासी ठेवावे. १०
- वीरमाडे पस्यालीळ दोन बाढे बाप्ये
येक रखवाणा या प्रभार्ने ज्ञाने. १०
- येस्ता
नाहून घ्यावी. रस्याली पहात ज्ञावे.
रास्योस माणसे ठेवावी. वीरमाडे
घावळी पाहीनी करावी बमावंडी
ठीक करावी. १०
- घाच्याचा संग्रह तोहूं न्ये. गोटीस
तोडा येडीळ व नाद्यद मासी तोडा
याकरिता घाच्य ज्ञन करावे. १०
- तांदुळ इंगावी कोठीस झंगर रन।।।
व यरांत झंगर रन।।। ज्ञावे. १०
- तूप यरांत व कोठीस झंगर रन।।।
- १।। प्रभार्ने करार करव्या लाप्तीळ
त्या करवाव्या १० रु. बीठाचे खेळी
सूर्यासीस देऱे. १०
- लोक कामा भाषिक ठेकुन भेटावी
दूर करावे. १०
- तुलानीचे हातासाली जार माणसे
ज्ञो बाबी शुतोकडे शिंतीवर दोन
मर बाक्याचे ते दोन दिव्यांचे काम
बाढे. करावे. १०
- तुलानीचे हातासाली जार यडी
देहून काम आयलेवर काळकांगोमारे
बेळदारांनी तोडी केल्या त्याप्रभार्ने
बाठ दहा दिव्य इवार तोडी काहून
तस्यावरील पाबलीचा तूर्स पामरी-
यापाकेतो ज्ञन बाढे पावेतो बाय-
रीस लाहून पाची काहून तेंवे गोटीस
फुलझाडे लावावी. १०
- नस्यावीळ फुलझाडे लाहून येक माणस
ठेकुन झाडावी झांव्यावी रस्याली धुढे
करै. मत्यासी इमग्य न करै.
भेठ लाहून घेऊ.

डे. को. बे. सं. २०।६८०.

श्रीमंत राजकी परमहंस्याचा स्वामीचे सेवकी आवाहारक
 मळादनी साठोंसी दंडवा विलापना येथील कुळ स्वामीचे कृपाकलेकने कडोन
 मेधाविषय असे विशेष संतानी मोठा वस्ती मोने करी यांकडे संतानी वीरपट्टे
 कर्ज मुद्द रखा ॥ १० आणीस होते त्यास त्यांनी गडवून दीडसे रनयेचा खाला लेण्यून
 घेऊ. संतानी मोठा गरीब त्याचरी त्यांनी व्यादस्ती केली. त्यास -
 चालीस रनयेचे दुष्ट देत असतां घेस्ते नाही. आणि खाला घेण्यून स्वामीकडे
 फिर्याद नाला. त्यास स्वामींनी मनास ग्राहून ने आवा कर्ऱे तें कराकी.
 व्यानास व्याच घ्यावे. येसा अर्थ नाही. प्रस्तुत संतानी ओरो रनयेचा
 निकाल दुष्ट घेत झीला तरी आम्ही कानन देणू. त्यास तोही येसा
 फिलत नाही. कनिष्ठा केल्याने येसा प्राप्त न होता संतानी परामंदा होवील
 सेवकी आवा करार स्वामी समर्थ गाडेत. तो ने गांवी आहे तो गांव स्वामी
 चाच आहे. आणि सध्योगी ही स्वामीचेच पावणा असे. बदुत काये लिंगिंचे
 विलापना (वाडवोलीत).

डे. को. बे. सं. २०।६९१.

श्रीमंत आहारान श्री परमहंस स्वामीचे सेवकी चरणरम वापुनी
 शीपत कृतार्थे भवकार. किंती येथील कुळ कातीक वस नवांनी परीयेंत
 स्वामीचे कृपे कानन मेधाविषय असे विशेष. स्वामींनी पत्र पाठकिंते तें
 पावळे कोना रंगारी ल्याढ आहे त्यांचा विश्वास न कर्ऱे महान तपसीले
 लिंगिंते तें कलो आले. पहीलेचे आवे प्रापा याचे पांगी केली घासून गडावरी

ठेकिला आहे. नक्कारी बाकरा याकडे व्याज मुद्दल देशील तरम्ये १११ मेसे
क्रियन आहेत. ते घेंगन पर यास सोडवें नाहीतर बेडी घालून ठेवणे त्यावरनन
आणे प्रभावें त्याचें पाढी बेडी घालून पुरंधरायांची ठेकिला असे. आणे प्रापा
त्यास पोटास देविले आहे. जेवेसी भूत नाले याहिने हे किंवद्दित.

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डॉ. कौ. गे. सं. २०।६२२०

श्रीमंति काराम भी परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी.
जानरन बायुजी श्रीपति कृतानेक नमस्कार विनंती येणील सुळल तां पाच मुद
प्रतीषदा नोसवासर पर्यंत स्वामीकृत कृपाक्लोकनेकरन येथापिल असे. विनेष
स्वामींनी घन पां पां ते पावळे. तेवे डाढा कीं माळसीरस्कर बाका भाळी
सूर्योजी यादव पां पासरीचे तोडे लळके नाले. राजबी प्रधान पंताचे अ
राजसी अपाचे व तुमचे मत्ते लळके नाले. समा भोढीली की माळी
तीन ने खाठ (प्लाट्टे) दरबारी आला.
राजबी कैलासिंग बाबा याकडे काहो न जाले. नामकर वेळ कील करनन
राजबीस नेहाळा आणि नक्कुजी राजबी सधीच पंताळडे लाबायी येसे केळे तेवे
ही फक्तीदी पावळा. नामकरितां राजबी अपांनी तुकाया देव यास गुळेगारी
इवार व वाकामाळी यास पाऊसे करार मेळे. भेंडू दीठ रु इवार त्याजयासून
घेंगन राजबी रायाचे पोलेस सर्व करून त्याचा शुलाहिना करावा येसे नाहीं.
इळी तुका यादव मानमासून बारासे व माळी याजयासून सातसे भेंडू दीठा
इवार ए चासे गवीक डोसात..... पाठवर्ण (प्लाट्टे) तुकेजी
पां पां यादव व बाका भाळी गेळे आहेत ती पिनरोन कांहीं याबास आले नाहीत.
माझुं त्याजल्हील येकीयाचा विचार राहीला सोमानी घाऱेकर स्वामींनी

पाठिंडा त्याने सांगीतले कीं आपणास तुकोनीचे व
जाली याचे घर पार छुटून त्याची मुळे याणसे गडावर ठेवाव्यासी आजा
लेली आहे. आपल्या का.। याणसे टेचें. आपण बाकाचे आणेहा कर्तुक
करीत (फाठ्ठे) --- सं दिल्ही ली पालसीरसास याचा

(फाठ्ठे) रवामीचे पन्ह त्यास जमत्यूर्के आठे की त्याज्या घारादाराचे
व याणसाचे व जाचे बस्तमावेस कर्व ता वेवास समान लाकर्व त्यावरन लो
घारादाराचे वाटे फेळा नाहीं. रवामींनी राजेनी निकम याचा.। कानी
संगून पाच कीं या दोधांची दोये मुळे गडावर ठेवावे हे कर्तमान सोमानीने
जेवून बाभ्राज्ञ कांगीतहे व रवामींना कामद त्यास होता तोच आगून
दासविडा. त्याची नम्ह करन ठेवीली आणि तुकोनी पाठीलाचा लेक
लेंगेनी व बाकामाली याचा लेक मुळोनी दोये आगून इवाला मेंते गडावर
केदेत ठेवीले जेवेसी झू नाहे पाहीने हे विषापना.

ती

डे. कौ. अ. सं. १०।६१२.

सेवेती खरवरन झंगरानी केशव नारायण विषापना नारोपंत यास पाच नो
(डे)र फेंगील मन्मु होती. त्यास सालिंगा रुघ्ये पंचवीस देव होते. त्यास
यारनीलेचे वृत आम्ही त्याहावे केंद्र नाही. सोमानी संगता तुळ होडील.
इठी पाच मकुर्बी मन्मु आभशा पुतण्या नीलो धोडदेव याचे नांवे आपली सम्म
ठिठून मन्मु करार करन आवी. झोमंत राजी पंत रवामीयास ही आपले येथे
पन्ह पाठिंडा वाढी मन्मुक कडी मालीना रन.।। १० साठ सेवेती प्रविठ्ठ करन.

किंदीत नाले पाहीने. साठमजूरी वेळन नारोपंतास न बाबे मेसे श्रीमंतास पन व नारोपंतासही त्याहाबे कीं मजमूसी समव नाहीं मेसे बाजापन पाठवाबे हे विधापना.

श्री

डे. कॉ. वै. सं. २०।६५२.

श्रीमंत रावेली परमहंसाबा स्वामीचे सेवेली विनंती सेवक बाढाबी सिवदेव चेत्यावरी महल ठेकून सात नमस्कार विनंती दुयरी स्वामींनी श्रीर्वाद पन पाठविले तें पावळे ते^१ बाजा नीं तुमच्या चाकराने विरताडे येथील सेनानाराज्या कुठल्या व योग्यादे व पागोटे फेले. त्याजबदल तो चाकर घरन नेता बाहे. त्यास तो चाकर य नेत्या महान क्षुल अमराधाक्षुल त्यामाझा गुन्हेगारी ठेवीली बाहे. त्याची बाट काये क्षुन ठिहिले त्यास बापवा समर्प बापि बास्तीही स्वामीज्या बासीर्वादाबे बाहे. बो चाकर बापवा तो चाकर स्वामीचाच बाहे. त्याची बाट बास्ती काये करावी. स्वामीज्या चिकास येवील तें करावें. वे समझी कुठल्या व योग्यादे व पागोटे खेलून सेवकी बापवा चाकर तो येकटा होता. परंतु ते सेनानाराजा पोरापा येक व सुताराचा येक मेसे देआषे वन होते. त्यामध्ये मेलास वर्म देआयेन मेसा विचार बाहे. त्यास काही विचा बन्यावासेरीन देआष ची असोन मेलान घेणून घेवील मेसे नाहीं.

प्रभा बाहे त्यान मध्ये ने बाजा भेटी असेल ती प्रभाच तें काहीं बास्ती फारसे त्याहावें में नाहीं. वे समझी चाकर बापस्या ठेकांनीं घरन नेता ते समझी कांहीं बास्ती चाची नक्कले चाकर नेतीमावरी प्रहराने घरास बाले. मेसा विचार

ब्रह्मां स्वामींनीं छिह्ने गाहे कीं ने समझी चान्द घरनन आभिला ते समझी
सांख्य मेलविली होती त्यांनीं नीम चा व पुळासे व मुळालैया पदरी
रा। बारा हातोहात नेते. स्फून कहीले त्यास ही गोळ तर काही
आम्हास दसल नाहीं. परंतु ज्याची वस्तमाव ऐली असेल त्यास आम्हाकडे
पाठ्यून थावे. केंद्री नेती असेल त्याचा ना ठायून
अंदर वस्तमाव काये ऐली असेल ती घेणून नाहील हे विषापना.

थी

डे. कॉ. ले. सं. २०।६६१.

कीमंत राज्यी परमहंस्याचा स्वामीचे सेवकी विनंती सेवक आवानी
सिवदेव चरणावरी पस्तक ठेणून थां नपर्कार विनंती मुगरी स्वामींनीं काळी
राज्यी अंतानीपंत व जिरपाढाचे कुळी पाठ्यून दो यशा राज्यीं आमधा
चाकर घरनन नेता त्यास त्या गोळांचा कांहीं विशाद आमच्या विकास
काही आठा नाहीं. कीनिनित्य की आम्ही स्वामीध्या खीर्वांदाचे आभिला
ने घराला चाकर तोही आपस्याच पदरी मेसे विकास आभिले होते. त्यास
डगिलाद कर्त्तमान आभिलीले की ने समझी तो चाकर नेता ते समझी आपस्या
त्यास स्वदहस्त सोऽयानी केली आभिला तो आपस्या घालून ठेविला यानवरी
आभिला प्रातःकाळ याहलीयावरी त्याची एक मिसी व त्याची मुळ्य मापसाकरवी
वस्तु-याने कापविली येही मुळीच वारी येकीली गाहे. त्यास ही गोळ लो का
कांहीं स्वामीपासून नाहीली नसल परंतु काहीं याज्ञा पदरी तरीचा लो
दोऱ झळा तरी आपण त्यास मेसे आहासन नेते असेल स्वामींनीं आदाचीत मेसे
जहासम केले असेल तरी लो दोऱापासून मुळ्य होवील. परंतु आम्ही स्वामीज्ञा
पदरीचे आमधी अमीरी लो विष्वतोमुळी नाहीली ती स्वामीचीच नाहीली.

हे गोळठी स्वामीज्या तपशीयेज्या लेवायेमे गाहे येसे नाहीं. ज्याने आपले पाये पाहीले त्याचे कस्याप छावे ते हे गोळठी त्यावडा प्राप्त वाही यानवरन अमृत दिलेन वाले. — किंचनीपंत त्या चाकरास घावडसीस घालवून नाघारे दरहुर्द मेय वाले होते ते समवी वाही तिळवून हे स्वारीबदल लेये ऐतो होतो. त्यास त्याची वासी मेठी वाही. ते समवी ते बोलीले कीं त्या चाकराने सेमर रुपये व कुडक्या चाकराने नेह्या यानवदल तो चाकर वाही केला गाहे. येसे बोलीले. त्यास सेमर रुपयाचा विक्री पोढा होता. वाही आपले पदरीने होतो जो त्यावडा —

— तो तो देतो परंतु स्वाभी किंवकी पुनेस्तोक होते हे गोळठीची खारीकाढी पुरती अगानास न घाणिहां वाही सेवकावरी तिळवी तिळानी केली यानवरन परम अमृत वाढळे. अहुत काये लिहिऱेहे हे विज्ञापना.

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डे. कॉ. डे. सं. १०।८६।

कुलाची कृत्ति यास वाढा केली येसीने. किंचनी यादव यांने वामधा कापद नेता न्हणून त्यास लेलवून कर्व रुपये माफतोस — वेळेस घन्याचे कावदाचे तुळता अवण्ड नाले असे गोळठीने तुळता कामावरन दूर करन यावातून वाहेर घाटता नाहील. किंचनी यादव कामावर आहे लेसा असो देणे. तुळे विज्ञास चाकर न मे तर यामाजेव कां ठेवीत होतास ! तुळे घालविले तो कामास वाढास. करतां करतां कर्जाचे रुपये सख्याने घेणून तुळी वाढ केली नाहील. ढंग करीतोस, तुळता वस्त्रे पासोढी सक्काद यावीस नव रुपये दिल्ले ते तुळताची नालास. रुपये पाठवून देणे. यानवरन

पक्कीत पाकसील. शावातून बाहेर नाहें. गायि सुबला कर्ने दिले ते सज्जान
रनयने पाठ्यून दें. सज्जाने चाकर ठेविला तो तुं दूर करीतोस. तेण्हां
दूच घनी वालास. पक्कीत पाकसील. नानीने. ४१४ रम्य हे आशा.

व्री

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. १०।८५०.

सहभायु विसंगीव बहुत (का)ली कल्यनवृत्त वापुनी पंत नाना विलक्षे का
महाल भिला। तरी चिमानी दाखेवर घटीला हेवाळा दामाडे यांनीं ते
केले अंगलामा तुम्ही गडावर हेवेत. गायि नाना वर केष नाळा.
त्याचे कामव्या कुडव्या घेतास्या त्या केलेल असीर्याद वारदेवता वदली जे
चिमानी दाखेदर तुम्हास दिल्हा ते जरै जाले झालां रामलळ्या तुम्हेता
वानी व वापा हे आम्हास ताकीत नाहीं आम्ही त्यास ताकीत नाहीं.
तरी तुम्ही पुरातन बाहा तुम्ही ज्यें मन सांगावे त्याधा बासवे ठाडी विकल्प
हेवी गायि आम्ही त्यास ठाकूर (ठाकूरी) येसा कुपाय सांगा यी कांहीं
झास्ता नवे. योस्ता घंडीत व आम्हास जोसी नवे. यी तुम्हासारीले
जस्तील (त्यांचे) पावीने रवी असे. हे वस्ती जर न केली तर बासवे बंगास
कालेसी लापती. आम्ही देऊतरास बातो ते तुम्हा पुन्हे वस्ती बाढी
हुबल नाले. यी काहीं पेक्षाने सुली होत नाहीं हाती खाडे. दिस्याने
सुली नाहीं. नाडी आशा पाळी... (त्याने यी) सुली जाहे. मुळेश्वर
पाटील याचे स्वाधीन मुळेश्वर केले म्हणजे यी अहुत सुली जाहे. नोरमरीआचे झाळ
बासवे वज्रें चालवाल त्यांचे कहून मन सतोष आडे. मुळेश्वरचे काम तुझे पुन्हे
नाले. गडावर मुळे आडेत त्याक्कहील मलते प्रकारे रनयनाचे तुफकी केलीत

म्हणने तुमचे पदरीं पुन्हा पढळें. सोनार पारी याचा भावू मादां सिंगी त्या-
सी गडावर ठेकून सोनारपारी रुपये मनेतास व ठीक
पाठविलात त्यानंदून सम्म वाढा. सम्यास कापास वाढा. तुम्हास प्र।।
फक्कमेठी ००१ पाठविली आहे घें.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।८६८.

श्रीमंत परमहंस स्वामी शाही
सहभायु चिरंदीव विजयीभव आपुवीष्ट नाना यासी आजा.
सिंगी पडावर ठेक्के आडेत त्यास सकाळमासून संध्याकाळाखेतो काम की
वाढून संध्याकाळीं येक्कास पंख्यीस पैनरा होम्यावर फारै. म्हणने ते
म्हण धरनन देयावे त्यांची विस्ते करतील. देवाचे कर्त गाठीयास प्रय
तुझे पदरी पढेल. तुकोनी यादव पाली गडावर पुऱ्हेगार म्हणून ठेक्किले
होते. छानीराव याचे कानीं यान्यासून फरासे रु.। ध्याक्यास आजा
केली होती त्यांने याच्ये केले होते. तुम्हासही तिः।। होते वे निदान
पाच्ये घें. त्यास जेतनी यो (गुला) पिंपरीकर यांने जर्न खेळ त्यावरन
तुकोनी यादव यास पड करार रुपये १५ असे पस्तीस करनन जेतनी यो।।
नामीन असे पक्कीसास घेणून त्याचे होती दिल्हा दसरा जालीयावर रु।
जेतनी धावे. तरी दसरा जालीयावर त्यान्यासून रुपये असे पक्कीस घेणून
आम्हाकडे पाठ्यां. कामालो लाघ आहे. त्यास करा केंद्रेत विडी
शालून ठेवै. तो पछोन गेला तर त्याचा नाब तुनला करावर लागेल. तुकोनी
यादव याचा लेक गडावर आहे. त्यास पनतावे रु।। असे पक्कीस करार असे.
तुम्हीही बन्याय या वे पेठात शालून याचा लेक गडावर आहे तो सोहून देणे.
जानीने. यस्ती येऊल तेळ्हा आम्ही ताकु घें. गोमूर कानीवर ठाकीले

आहे. नाहीने.

श्री.

डे. को. श्रै. सं. २०।९३४.

सिवाची झळ यासी आवा खेळो येसीने. यत्र पाठ्यिले प्रविष्ट नाहणे
तुम्ही वस्त्र पाठ्यिले तर आपणी वस्त्रे तुमचा योग्य वाढला न्हणने तीव्र आपणी
वस्त्रे आम्हीं परम्हंस आम्ही जागी. मक्तावे वस्त्र पांधरावे येसे काय
आहे येऊऱ्याची आनंद इत्यु खेळां खेळा तेथां वस्त्रे खेळी कुटीषक येक
बन्म तो ... प्रथार्चे खिलास खेळील तर पाठ्यक्रमे काढी आम्हो कोळास संकट
पाढीत नाहीं. तूप बाले योपाड कातील न्हेसीचे तस आम्ही सात्रूम पुढाह
होतू. यास(द) देवाचे चिनारतीचे दमडास लागेल. येसे यरोपकारी लिः।
आहे.

श्री.

डे. को. श्रै. सं. २०।९३४.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| सहयायु चिरंनीव आवा | (बा) या मनीकर्षण गंगानन्द पांडा- |
| वांनी याय खेळा | द्रस्तनापुरी सुखदेव यांनीं नीका घेण्याची वाचि रुक्त केटी पाठ वानेत लाभली. रुक्ती तुझे नामाची कीर्ति वोराज्यांत नाहली. येत्तास तुमचे खिलास येऊऱ्य तरी पासेठी शीठी येक पाठ्यून देणे पाच सात रुक्ता। मधी पाठ्यक्रमे तुम्हास नाव अनंत केटी देवीठ. सहयायु चिरंनीव चिन्मारी नव बाढेला यासी आज्ञा येहीते घर्मूळतिं आवा तुम्ही आहा तरी पासेठी शीठी पाच सात रुक्ता। येक प्राकर्णीस पाठ्यून देणे येऊऱ्य खिलास तरी. |

वी

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०।९८१०

वाले तर सामान्य कीर्ति असुर्प पावेतो राहील. केकण गर्वें देव ब्राह्मण
स्थापना होइन प्रका सुख पावेल. येझ तुमचे पडेल. महाराज इत्यतीचे दवा -
तुम्हाचर होइल. वानी कानी वीपत्या यांची कीर्ति कांहोच नाही. तुं जर
सरमेळाचा पुण बहास तर मा समझां आपवे लि।। वरन येझ येत्य आहे त्याचे
नांव लि।। नाहीं परंतु हेच पर त्यास दाखले (पाठकर्णे) कुठावाचे(फाळें)

वी

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०।९८१०

सहजायु चिरंनीय विक्षीभव ब्राह्माचारक सत्य मुगीचा कर्ण पूर्वीचा इरिश्चंद्र
मेस्याचा यासी बाबा यासी ब्राह्मा केळी येतीचे पाहा पाहा बाबा तु बाधा ला
रुपये देलेस तरी बितकी कीर्तीं तुमची होतीना ब्राह्मास सो बाबी यांचीं
कायद ब्राह्मास लिहिला आहे तो कायद पाहेन व ब्राह्माकायद पाहेन महाया
माने याचे यावास बेळा घारला आहे. त्याचर भुजी टाळून त्याचा चिंदीचोला
नेता आहे तो परतून देने भजने या लोकी तुमची कीर्तीं होइल इरिश्चंद्रासारसी
आमधी ब्राह्मा यानीत्यास जामधीही कीर्ति होइल यामधेय तुम्ही सूत छसा दाळून
वीच्यर तुमचे पदरी येझ घालितो हे व्यवस्थेचे कळूल करैं हे केलियास इन्सेट देव
सुसी होइल आणि तुम्ही पुण कळूली नंदाल येझ पावाल हे गोळ ब्रमा न्य न करैं
तुम्ही दृश्य देणूं नका सूणा प्रती विरुद्ध काये लिहिऱैं हे ब्राह्मा. पालसीचे मं
सरंबामास यांव तुम्ही वानी पाच घर्वे देता त्यास गाव दें. असेल तरी यावा
माही तरी तेसेच पट्ठन लि।।.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।१७०.

श्रीभगवान्नाराजनी परमहंस वाचा स्वामीचे सेवकी चरणरब सदासीव
चिमाची कृतानेक नमस्कार विशापना. येथील कुळ ता नेंठ सूध मेळादसीपवेत
स्वामीचे ऋसीर्वादेकरम येणाऱ्यित असे विशेष बहिरजी वेरड माळसीरसास राहतो.
भास यावये कळुते भारो असे असोन तेच याची चोरीचा हृष्टव देतो असे दोन
तरफे त्याच्यासुन आले. राहीस्या योऱ्डीची लळीकात नाहाली पाहिजे. व
चोरीची लेठ पोढली पाहिजे. स्वामीसही वर्तमान कळावे यास्तव लिहिले असे.
आसीप्रथे त्येस तगावगा नाही आहे. याकरितां बहिरजी मम्कूर याकडा
येणे बाब्यिले आहे. कदाचित हे वर्तमान स्वामीस क्वचित होकून विष्वास चित्ताव
मेळील याकरितां विनंती लिहिली आहे. सेवकी कृप होये हे विशापना.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०।१७१.

श्रीभगवान्नाराजनी परमहंसवाचा स्वामीचे सेवकी चरणरब सदासीव
चिमाची साढ्ठांग नमस्कार विशापना येथील कुळ ता नेंठ कळुल मेळादसीपवेत
स्वामीचे ऋसीर्वादेकरम येणाऱ्यित असे विशेष स्वामींनीं ऋसीर्वादपर पाठ्यिले ते
प्रविळ्ड होकून स्तोष नाहला. बहिरा वेरडाविसी विस्तारे गाचा केली त्यांत
मुख्याची हात कीं बहिरा वेरड चोरी करत नाहीं. चोरी नीराळेच पुरंधर(कर)
वेरड करीतात. बहिरा यातमावये कळुते सात नाहीं. असे असां तुम्हास क्षा
क्षाक्षास परव काये । व स्वार काये निमित्य पाठ्यिले म्हणोन वीजदे आज्ञा
केली ऋसीर्वास स्वामीचे आळेसां आळास विशेष काये आहे । वापन बहिरा
वेरडावावत यातीयावे रन ॥ ५ पाय आ लीले ते सूर्योदीप यागडा यावा ॥

पाठकिले अस.... पाक्षीया चे तुला पाठकिले पाहिने. वरकड बहिरास
मनकूरांनी पुरंधारकर गोठ घोरी करीतात म्हणेन स्वामींसंनीघ्र निवेदन केले तें
अपारंभ असेल येसे नाहीं. स्वामींनी बहिरास ताळीद काढन ने (आ) त
गावी घोरी करीत अस (उत्तीर्ण) ते धर्मीस्या पाहिजे म्हणने बहिरासनी सांपीटले
तें स्वामीचे व वापर्या ही प्रत्ययास येऊल. सेवेसी शृङ्खला येते हे विषापना.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०।११।१०

सन १७१७-१८

ब्रीमत्परमहंस स्वामीचे सेवेषी

सतत मृगा अमुहांशु संमानी राजे दंडकर प्रभान विनंती मुरी झार्य कुळ नाष्ट
मीरंतर असीर्वादयत्र प्रेशर्णे सांदित करीत असीले पाहिने. मानंतर स्वामींनी
असीर्वादयत्र पाठकिले तें पाक्षीन परम जानंद वाला लेये कितोक असीर्वादयुक्त आजा
दिल्ही ते बंदिली आमडास नवाब्बाजिना भन्नुक याचे साहित्य यत्र
पाठ्यांने ते परम्पर नाय येसे करावे म्हणून लिहिले तरी प्रस्तुत स्वारी लाव झाठी
वाहे. येडांव प्रांते यितरन येंवे होगील से समझी स्वामीचे आवेशांने आमडास
पर्ने साहित्याची परम्परे नात येवेच केले जाऊल. येविझी स्वामींनी बारंवार
लिहावे क्वें नाहीं सूषापत्र बहुत काय लिहिले हे विनंती.

श्री

डे. कॉ. ऐ. सं. २०।१०।१४.

सन नानेशारी १७१४.

राजा म्हणने डीम्बर त्याक्ष्य अस्थान वासेव ते तुळ्या वारी डावर
वाहेत. वाजलरिता रुधानी वालीकास कामद वरावाबीठ कांही लिहा नें
मुगानी पवार म्हण्ये करी वाहे राज्याही रामडास रवाना केला भाले नाहून

रायगढ़ा केता मुठबिला पाठाडीसीदी क्वार बमवानी मान्या। इनार मान्स होते. त्यास जीवे मारनन लोक ठार केले.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०।११।१।

सहजामु चिरंजिल विक्षीप्त

स्थानी क्लोने यासी शाशा केली येतीने तुम्ही पत्र पाठबिले तें प्रविष्ट दोरून अहुल स्तोषी नाहेले. शान्ही तुम्हास माळे काढी व केताच्या काठया क्लातार पणी हाती घाक्यासी व हाच्या न्हून कोण करन लिहिले होते. शान्ही कांहीं तुम्हापासी वर्जने व धोडे व दध्य काहीं माफत नाहीं. आणि तुम्ही या पतीं तुम्ही काठयाचे नाया आहां न्हून लिहिले होते. यिठानी नाघव यांनीं मान्य मेले होते तेळांच तुम्हास पाठबिले असते तरी तुम्हास काये न्हून लिहिलो. काठया क्वार पाठबिल्या त्या अक्षात. क्लातारपनीं हातीं घाक्या ठारक्कात व योगद तुलम कारकून पाठवै वाकीया १ पांच पाठबिल्या माझेत पेतल्या पाहिजेत. यांब पांढरे कृकाळी मेल्न करन बगत्य में पिल्लील तेथील शान्हून नांब व किया २१ पाठवून देवे. नाय जायेन्दे रोपे १० मोठे मोठे निंमेन्हीं बादपदमासी ठाक्यासी पाठवून देवे. केताच्या काठीया मोठया भिल्लील तरी घार पाठवून देवे. फक्स । व अन्नस येक कोक्कसाले ६१२ फक्सपोली ६। पाठबिली ते पाकली.

श्री.

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. १३।१०।१७।

साता अन्याचे पुण्य असे मार्याची माता कसी पद्दोदरी रायगास बोध

करी तेसे तुम्ही काठमास सांपिले देवास पालसीस गाव दें. त्याचीं
आमची घटा बाबी भेळी ने त्याचे नातवाक्यून गाव हाती दिलहा आहे.
या दोघे दादला बाबीले येथे नाती आमचे ठारीं आमचा घटमान कांद लाभली
म्हणून बाम्हास नातवाचे मुदक तू लोकास पाठ घटमास देतो आणि बाम्हास
कुरडा बेसिकिलो. बाम्ही तरी किंतीक दिक्षा आवर्णे आहे. कांही कामेनी
चिरम्भावर माया खो दे तो सत्याचा भरा. ज्ये सत्यमामेने कृत्यास दान
दिलहे तसे तुम्ही बाम्हास घटमानीर दिलहे. तेसे सिमणा नाहीलोबाबरी आपले
मेया स देन यक्किन्याचा पैका रोग देवून आपले आवृत्त बाम्हास सासा पाठवून
दें. त्यात बेसोन बींदापूरचे तत्याचे काम किंती जाले ते पाहेन येवून तेपून
आणिम्भावर तुम्ही पालसी तुम्हास पाठवून देवून. तुमच्या पत्त्याच्या ने तुम्हेसा
दादला बाबीकास क्लो न दें. तिले वठोकाट प्रवत्तन कृत्यास बेसिकिले. लाकूड
फाठे घाऱ्य बाहाम नाले. त्याचे हाल होतात. अमी होतात. त्यास निरोप
देवून येथे वस्त्र पत्ताप्रयाचे धारू नाबीकास पाठवून दें. त्यास बीर्वाद तिहि-
स्यास तो फत्ते करून तुमचे दर्जनास येबील. नीचाही बीर्वाद पुरीं त्यास आहे
तो विमी होवून येबील. अहुत दिक्षा होवून येले भंदादरीने ज्ञा ओघ रावणास
केळा तसा तुम्ही केळात परंतु ते अल्या नवीत ने नातवाक्यून गाव त्यास दिलहा
आहे याचे खुतर--(अपूर्वी पाठले.)

गी.

डे. कौ. बे. सं. ११।२००.

सं १७१६.

दारे बेस्मी लवा बाहार मोजे मालसीरस प्रा सुपे सु।। समान सलासीन
यिया ब उलफ योहीबाचे सेसेसी लिहेन दिलहा कृत्या बेसाचे. सेना रांगारी
क्वाक्ल खोडा पाठला आहे. तो क्लोवून आपले हवाला करावा त्याकडील

रनयवे ३०० यावे. ते वायम तीन वहिना आगून देतो अंतर मुदतीस पडीले तरी
व्याप्तिवल असे. अन्ये भारताचे कल्पा गोविंदपंत मुकासी याज्ञवल लिहान या
प्राप्त देतो हे लिहिले सही छ १६ रम्बान.

बीमार्यराष्ट्र

डॉ. कौ. ले. सं. १२१२४.

सं. १७५०.

वडीलाचे सेषी सीर साढ्ठांच नमस्कार विद्यापना येणील कुळ आगून
स्वर्णीय कुळ लेतनाचा ऐली पाहिजे, विशेष वडीलाचे असीर्वादेवतन विरांगनाचे
हान वाहाले विवितर वेदमूर्ति रागधी विमलपटवी सांकेता क्लो येणील. वरकड
वक्तिलातर काय लिहावे देणी यावाची लठी लोढावी न्हणून वाढा स्वास
शीखलाची स्थारी वाल्यासेरीन तुळत नाही. स्थारीही सत्वरच येणार येती
वदता आहे. विशेष काय लिहावे, लेण करावा हे विद्यापना.

कांडी पर्यंत तज्ज्ञातोष विठ्ठाल योपाड

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|-------------------|----------------------|
| १ शाह रामे | |
| १ बालाजी विश्वनाथ | |
| १ बाबौराव प्रभान | |
| १ विमाजी अन्यावी | |
| १ बालाजी बाबौराव | |
| १ सदासीय विमाजी | १ शीर्षकामी |
| १ रघुनाथ बानोराव | १ शाह रामे हंसास |
| १ राधाकावी | १ विंदामन देव मांस |
| २ शीनीकास परमुराम | १ विमाजी अन्या यांस. |
| ---- | |
| १४ | १ बाबौराव मांस |
| ---- | १ |

१ सन्द शालसीरस

२ वर्जीसनाथे पत्राची नम्ब

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श्री

ठ. कौ. अ. सं. १२/६१

१६ जाने. १७२९.

राक्षान्य रामाची केसो विश्वनाथ क्षमावित्तदार घाठ गोक्षाची
यांसी,

सेवक तुळो फहादेव नम्बकार सु।। तीसा बसरीन म्या झल्यन श्रीमार्गीन र्य कैवि
चिहून तांदूळ कै १०० येसे धावडसीस मेवार आऱेत त्याज नमातीचा तपादा न
करणे म्हणून रामाची बानाचे पत्र ताहे तरी तुळ्ही १०० येवास नमातीचा तपादा
न करणे धावडसीकर बाची ५० कैल घेणून ताले बालेत. त्या लेरीच चालीस कैल येवू
देणे वास्ती बसतील तर त्यास नकात घेणे अहुत काय लिहिणे ३ ७ रन्य
रिकाची म्हुळ्ये नेतात त्याक्षासी तुळ्ही क्षम्भा करीतां तरी ही गोछड काही
कार्याची नाहीं तरी तपादा न करणे जाऊने.

किंवा ३६

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गोराची

तुळा पाटील.

दे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९७.

सहजामु चिरंनीव चिंकरात् यासी वाहा येसीने तुम्ही दाढी पाळीची
दिली ते येक सूड मुळील छापत्ये येशास दाढी आपली घेऊन नाने. आपले येशा-
नक्षय दाढी तुलम दें. असेल तरी दें. नाहीं तरी नाहीं येसे मळावे. कल्ही-
हून पाळीस सोटे आनुन देतो. पाळी करावी येसे मळावेत ते अवधे येणीकडे
राहीले. सर्व लोकास वधनीं धरावे. येशास दाढी आपली घेऊन नाने वाचि
चिन्हायासून याख्याची असेल तरी तुलम दें नाहीतरी न दें य
हे वाहा.

ब्रीमार्गवराम

दे. कॉ. बै. सं. २०१९८०.

मनान्मळ यंगान्मळ उचार्य पवित्र देवरात् यासी वाहा येसीने तुमचे पुन्यानें
चिंदापूरचे काम नाहेले येरण्ही होशार नक्षते. वाहा पाहा नेवढी लोली मरली
वाचि मन कुश नाहेले ज्यांनीं वाहा केली त्यास आधीकी साढी पावेतो
वांछले हे राज्यास छापतीस अनुकूल रानन सांगें वे काम चिंदापूरचे तत्याचे जाले
तुमचे द्रीसढीस पढोल तेळंडां नाहेले मी वाडीछां नामली तुमचा तुम्हास सांभीतले
हेते ने राजूर गाव तुम्हाक्कड माफत हेतो परंतु तुझो कोठे मम देवीले । तुमचे
पुन्ये (ना) वे पुतेचे तले होवू या य देवलही होवू या तेजीर्वे नाहेले नाहे. वाहास
खायारवाढी, घर्माची मुदार काठ ल आला वारा अहूत घरंतु हातमार अस्त्र
देवीले नाहीं. वाच्ये वाढीने वाच वाढीला पुत्र छावा मळून - वाढीच्या
पुत्राचारानें किंतेक अते घरली आहेत. मी कोठे कोठे देवाची संकटे घेतली आहेत,
कीं वाढीस पुत्र हेवील तेळंडा मेढीस येणीन. मुलोबा वाहादेव या लेरीन किंतेक

देवाज्या मेढी खेल नाहीं. पी बाबीस पुर होबील तेळंग भेट खेळीन. कॅटे-
ज्ञास नक्स केला आहे नी बाबीस पुर होबील तेळंग आम्हा नेहूं घालून योहांची
पूना घाठावी मेसा नक्स केला आहे. आम्हास (सो)ने पेका देता देता कंटाला
आला आम्हावर राज्यावा पार चोकोटीवा नाहला. राजा आम्हास
पेका देता देता कंटाला. पुढी अवकाश होबील.

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ड. कौ. वे. सं. १०।८९।

सत्यमुगीं पुर करावा रावा हरिष्चंद्र राज्याने येक गुरु का-
कामीपाचे गुरु मेक नालींद्र (मेळे) गोपीचंद्राची बाबी खेळावी हीने पुर
करावा बाबी तुम्ही न्हणने त्याची पाता येक तुम्ही त्यास गुरुद्वारा नीं तिसरे
तुम्हेचे महतीं राज्यमार येसे झस्तां तुम्हेचे सांगीतले य लिहिले न पानी तेळंग
बाबी आज्ञा तो कोठे पानील । यापेक्षा आम्हास घालून आम्हास हल्के
पाठावेचे तुम्हास विदीत नाहीं. येकदा आम्ही त्यास कामद लिहिला
होता. त्यांचे बाबी आज्ञा योडीली याकरितां वा
सांगीतल्यास आमीत तो ग्रापण आज घालून पश लिहिले ग्रापले
पशावरमन त्याचे सुट्टा होबील न्हजून लिला. पातुभी कुशाबाबी केलुट्टचे पाडे
घर ये लोकीचे यांशे कीर्त पूर्ण तुम्ही कामद लिला. कीं बाली आम्ही न्हणने
पांचवा आक्रम आम्ही सीध्य करू न्ह्ये. पूर्वी सीज्जाची बारा येचे नीच्छा
पाहात. तेळंग सीध्य करीत झस्त. याकरितां वा म्हो झाल वाटेन का
बापली पान्हेचे पाठवावी. त्यांचे मान्हेते तर वरे नाहले.
नाही(वर) मान्हेते तरी या कल्युगी बाबी लक्षितीं तुम्ही केसीसी होबील.
कल्युगी पुर करावा वीरोने.

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. २०।१०७२.

श्री मार्या चिरनीव आहे.

रेमुके सातेचा प्रसाप माझी बनवी समुदायांची यासी आज्ञा केली असीजे. संभास पेशून सवा दोनसे वर्षे जाहली मुखून युन ठाकून खेळ तुम्हे पदरीं घांघळें. माझी अवस्था करिवील मुखून बोलावू आले होतें. परंतु तुमचे पुण्याने राहीले. वरें तुमचा इत आहे तरी

लक्ष्यर माझसे पाठ्यून आवी. तुम्हापेकां वा म्हास गावती नोड काय आहे. विजेष काब लिहावे. हे आज्ञा. तू निर्णय तूं ममुल आवडे आपले पतीला पाठ्य. अथवा वाटसह याठ्याचे. तुम्हे मवित्तने मी बांधलो आहे.

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. २०।१११.

तुमचा झोन न करा तरी वा म्हासही अवस्था नाही. वा मधा यत्न इताता तो वा म्ही केला. आता अभिमान देवाचा तुम्ही धरावा. तुम्हीत आहे. कीर्तीं हे खोर आहे. इत्य
कीर्तिंचा षोड खोर आहे. नाहीजे. वा वा फलवर्दी तुम्हा सांगितलें कोक्करा रात्रा परवराम कोक्करा त्यानें निर्माण केले सिवानी रात्रा हात नेहून देवाचे नेहोस खेत असे. लक्षेच तुम्हे पिते मवत होते. तुम्हास वीही सांगितले ने मार्यास मवत ना. मार्याचे ठाझी निळ्ठा धरलीयास दिंगरज तुझे तुलाम होतोल.

ग्री

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. २०।८९१.

आकाश पडो पाहे तरी तुमची (न वा) ठ पाहे. सदोवा मासी
तुम्हारेष्वर कोण वाहे? मेल्याटे नाहीं. आम्ही सहज्याटे येत्यु. आणि
मंडप ज्ञानीवंत करन. देवारेष्वर तुम्हास कोण वाहे? मेंने प्रभट यावे तरी
युक्त रुपें तरी तुमचे यांडवांत येत्यु. मंडप ज्ञानीवंत करन. तुमचे वडीलापासून
सर्व प्रकारे तुमचे छिंदके देव जालवीत आणा वाहे पुढेहि जालवील. तुमची
निष्ठा आम्हाकळ वाहे.

श्री.

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. २०।८७२ व.

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|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| केळी मेसीने तूं कल्युगी | नाभास महावीर मेटीस नाभास |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|

तेळ्हा समाधीत वारदेवता वदली होती नोमळ तुला दिल्हा बळा किंती प्रतिष्ठा
करा कांवे असतील असा भी तुळा (फाटले)
नाहीं येताषटामाझकरितां तुळा माव नव्ये. आम्ही तुम्हावर
सर्व ठारून रामेश्वरास कर्णाठकी नालो.

श्री.

डे. कॉ. डे. सं. १२।११०६.

तेळ्हांकेसोपंत होता वासना सत्यार्थ घरली पाहिजे.
तुमचे देव वरेच भरील. सोमानी व केसोवा पाटविला वाहे. तें त्या
परदरामी आम्हाने टॉग करनन वामचे नांवावरी ज्यार इगार रन।। मेल्युन
आणिले. काही वादझाने दिल्हे. कांही आपल्याज्ञवळ ऐले वाहेत. दाढा

मन दास पाठ्यांचे. देवाचे तुमारतीचे समझी वार वावान होतील. या समझी प्रशंसण जंजिरा व कासाबा तुम्हास येणील महणून देवाने सांगितले आहे. अगोदर चिन्ह कले म्हणूनच तुम्हास बळवच पाठीविले होते. आम्ही देवास गाव मापतो. आम्ही आपल्या तुरायर घालण्यासी तर गाव मागत नाही. देवास दिलह्यास देव अत नेटी देवील. गवाप काहीं.

श्री

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. १२/ १०६३.

ठिहिलात ने आपलास मान(फाठ्ले) परमे सरदेवमुलीज्या सनदा व सचांस दव्य पाठ्यांचे तरी हे योछढ आम्ही कांही तुम्हासी बोलीले नाहीं गान तुम्ही कशावरन ठिहिले हे न क्ले. येसे ठिहिले तुम्हास बुक्किंस नसे तुम्ही कुसानी सिंध्याचे बोले ठिहिले झाल. आम्हास खवीवरी ज्या मंत्र कोशास तुयदेव दिल्हा नाहीं लो महामंत्र तुम्हास तुयदेव सांगीतला त्याचे बोने मुळ मायीतल्या कांही टेथले ... (फाठ्ले) या येचे कोणते कार्य सिद्धी न होमे ने म्हटले ते होवून तुमचे झू तुम्हास पादवांत होतील येताच मंदाचा महीमा आहे. यास निळा खंतापासून झाली म्हणते म्हटली कार्य सीध होवील. माहायंत्रे ताबीत मरन तुम्हास स्त्रीया पुरुष दोन ताबीत मरन

श्री

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०।१६२.

श्रीसकलाज्ञादून पनोहर पाळताची मुख्यंतीर अमृतादून पचुर कृपा तुमची नेसी अंद्राधी जीतल्या तेंवे नोवविली तुम्हास तेसी दया करीतां मन तेजावर

माहाराज राजभी स्वामीचे भेषेति गांगांकित कृष्णाची पवार विष्णुसरावू सा
दंडवत विनंती मुपरी येथील कुरुत नानून आपले स्वकुरुत लिहित गांगा केली -
पाहिजे. विशेष बहुत दिवस नाले स्वामीकडौल कांही उत्तीर्णादपत्र येवून
परा भृङ केला नाहीं. याजकरितां शोत सांपेहीत आडे तर आता येणारा
समागमे उत्तीर्णाद पत्र पाठवून सांभाळ केला पाहिजे. येणे करनन कीत सेतो ज्ञाने
पावल्यानंतर आपले वर्तमान स्वामीचे कृपाखलोकने करनन ता ४१० नीलकाद
परीमेंत मु। सुर्ये स्वस्ती तेम असो. याचर स्वामीकडे मोळी रवाना केले
आडेत. तर कृपा करनन आपलीयाचागातील तुलम पदार्थ झाडे नागशाफ्टा व
सेनशाफ्टा व ग्राहिक किस्येक जीनकाची तुलम झाडे जे अस्तील से आपले मुख्यी
प्रमुख्तीने मोर्यांच्या स्वाधीन करनन पाठविली पाहीकेत. झाड अनामत येवून
येणवे ते मोर्घट केली पाहीजे. जो गांगातील तुलम ई — ई नीनस
असल तें पाठविला पाहिजे. बहुत काये लिः। कृपा कृष्णीते पावीजे. हे विनंती.
हाही वाप स्वामीयाच आडे. तुलम झाडे बसलीयाने कीर्त स्वामीची आडे.
विशेष काये लिहिमें हे विनंती.

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दे. क०. वे. सं. १२।१०४८.

— — — रोमा न कोणे येते केले पाहिजे. येवेता त्यांने मज कट्टी केले.
त्यास आपीलें. त्यावे नास येले आडे. तो निस्त्री आडे. याजकरितां तुम्हास
लिः। आडे. तो पुण्यातील रनका काढील मेसा चांडाड आडे. तुं आका मन
तुझा केटीचा दूपकार होवील. सरकारून सुमवे राज्यातील नार सेव्यी
रत्याकर दूबल. गानंदरावू मंत्री, प्रतिनिधि, यमाजीपंत, हे गांगास मेक रनका
देत नाहीं. यंदा मात्र देवरावू यांने गांगास पाचसे रन।। दिले तो किंदापुरी

मेठा महान् त्यापासून घेठे लोक भ्रष्टात सरकारकून बाबास स्वप्ने देतात
महून. बाबा तसेकेली देवाढल करितात. हे लो काही देत नाहीत.
सेठे महानन गरीबे माझे चाळवितात महून कामै होतात. हे असे
अथ(प)तीन आहे (प्राठे).

NOTE:

The following two yadis - D. C. H. N. 20/829 and 20/832 are already printed. D. C. H. N. 20/829 is printed by Rajwade in his Vol. III (No. 1). It is repeated here because differences in dates and reading were observed between the two. As the document is an important one, the differences are worth noting. D.C.H.N. 20/831 and 832 is a full list of the Swami's building works found in the Bhavatshi Saftar. Parasnisi in his Brahmendra Charitra, on page 103 has given a list of the Swami's building works. But it is an abridged one, and the totals are not agreein. Many items have been omitted by Parasnisi. For this reason, the list is repeated here.

ग्री

डे. कॉ. बे. सं. २०।८२१.

यादो श्रीदेव परम्पराम वारतव्य योगे येठे तां चिरुङ्ग प्राप्त दानेऽ
येथे कारसाना त्रिपारती बंदीस्तीस प्रारंभ श्रीपरमहेंद्र स्वामी शंकरो केला
दी।। सन समान तीसेन योग कुब पोर्खिका लंगे १९२१ सर्वेन्द्रि संवत्सरे श्रीपारती
प्रारंभ

मिता वेष्ट श्रीपरम्परामी श्री

मिता

स्वामी राहोले साठे

(सन समान आवेन.

(समान तीसेन

(समान आवेन.

(तीसा तीसेन

(तीसा आवेन

(बजरीन

(सन समानेन

(श्रीहिंदे बजरीन

(सन श्रीहिंदे समानेन तां

(श्रीसने बजरीन

(तीसा समानेन

(सलास

(सीतेन

(बाबा

(श्रीहिंदे सीतेन तां तीसा

(समान

(सीतेन

(सौत

(सवेन

(स्वामी

(श्रीहिंदे सवेन

(समान

(जिसने सवेन

(तीसा बजरीन

(सलास सवेन

(श्रीहिंदे बजरीन

(बाबा सवेन

(श्रीहिंदे बजरीन

(समान सवेन

| | |
|---|---|
| । बीसने बजरीन | । सीत सबैन |
| । सलास बजरीन | --- |
| । बाबा | १० |
| । समझ बिसरीन | । साक्षा सबैन |
| । सीत | । समाप्त |
| । सब साक्षा बिसरीन | । तीसा |
| माघ मासी सिवरात्रीस हस्तीबद्ध लिदी बाद हस्ती वांचीं दंगा करनन तुष्टेद केला. | । समानीन ९।। श्रीहिंदे समानीन तारा तीसा समानीन. |
| ---- | १०।। तीसेन तारा तीसा |
| २० | तीसेन |
| । समान बिसरीन | । म्यातेन |
| मार्गसीर्ज मासी धावडसीस संस्थान बाढा बांधिला. | । श्रीहिंदे म्यातेन । बिसने म्यातेन |
| । तीसा बिसरीन | । सलास म्यातेन |
| । सलासीन | । बाबा म्यातेन |
| । श्रीहिंदे सलासीन तारा तीसा सलासीन मु॥। साहे | । सभस म्यातेन । सीत म्यातेन |
| । बाबैन | । साक्षा म्या |
| । श्रीहिंदे बाबैन | । समान |
| । बिसने बाबैन | । तीसा म्यातेन |
| । सलास बाबैन | । बज्र म्यातेन |
| । बाबा बाबैन | । श्रीहिंदे बजरीन म्यातेन |

१ सप्त बाबैन

२ सीत बाबैन

ब्राह्मण शुच १ मुनरवार

श्रीस्वामी कृष्णातीर वौरपाडे

केलासवासी बाहाडे तळे १६३७

केलास्त्रन संसारे

३१

१ छिसने ब्रह्म यातेन

२ सलास ब्रह्म यातेन

३ सन बाबा ब्रह्म

४ सप्त ब्रह्म

५ सीत ब्रह्म

६ सदा ब्रह्म

७ समान ब्रह्म

८ तीसा ब्रह्म

९ द्विरीन

१० बिहिदे व्रहरीन

३२

१ ब्रीसने ब्रहरीन

(वेष्टे हस्ताक्षरांत)

२ सन सलास ब्रहरीन ताा सन

तीसा ब्रहरीन यातेन व उल्लम.

३ सन सलासीन ताा सन तीसा

सलासीन यातेन ब्रह्म

३३

४ सन बाबैन ताा सन तीसा

बाबैन यातेन ब्रह्म तळे १७३०

३४

त्रो

दे. को. अ. स. २०१६३२.

यादी भीमारती श्री स्वामींनी बांधित्या कामे सुपार

६६८५०० योर कामे.

| | | |
|--------|---|----|
| १००००० | श्रीपरम्पराम वास्तव्य पेटे | |
| २२१००० | घायड्हीत कामे । | |
| २००० | विहीरी ।४ | |
| २००००० | मुख्य समाध । | |
| १०००० | कोट वाठ्यास । | |
| ५०० | प्रीनीचे देवाल्य । | |
| ५०० | श्री काळाशीचे देवाल्य । | |
| ५००० | श्री वाश्नाशीचे देवाल्य । | |
| २००० | श्री पास्ततीचे देवाल्य । | |
| ५०० | श्री मण्यती गवेशमिंडीत । | |
| ५०० | श्री मेल्लीरा । | |
| <hr/> | | |
| २२१००० | | १० |
| <hr/> | | |
| १००००० | श्री मेल्लीलिंग नन्हिं घायड्हसी हॉमरावा देवाल्य व कोट व तलाव. ।. | |
| १००००० | तलाव त्रिपुढी । | |
| ५५००० | पुण्याचे बाटेस | |
| ५५००० | घाट सामटकी ।० | |
| १००० | विहीर अंधारीवड ।. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| ५५००० | | १ |

| | | |
|----------|--|-------|
| १००० | तलाव घावसीत | १. |
| १००० | तलाव गेज सेठी ननिक पाल | । |
| ४००० | तलाव बिंदापूर | । |
| ५००० | तलाव नातेशुले | । |
| ५००० | भीरामेश्वर कुमारी ननिक परठे देवाल्य | । |
| (१०,५००) | श्रीमुलेश्वरननिक पाठसिरस | |
| १००,००० | माहादेवाचे देवाल्य निर्णयार | । |
| १०० | सपाईची नागा | । |
| ----- | | --- |
| १००,५०० | | २ |
| २०,००० | श्रीमण्यतीचे देवाल्य रातुरीस | । |
| ५,००० | मोजे पाठसिरस विहीरी | २ |
| ६,००० | बारव पाळस | । |
| ५,००० | बारव कुरकुम | । |
| ३,००० | विहीर मळत | । |
| १०,००० | मोजे गोठवे तां रातापुर शेये देवाल्य | । |
| ----- | | ----- |
| ४६४६० | | २७ |
| ४३,००० | किरकोठी | |
| २०० | विहीर अर्जनगढ | । |
| २५० | विहीर | । |
| १००० | विहीर कठावत ननिक मोडेड | । |
| २००० | बारवपड | । |
| १००० | मदिमानगड | । |

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१००० तापवडा ।

१००० सदासीवगड ।

१००० नालीम्बाडी ।

१००० विहीर नक्कल नालेशुदे ।

प्री ३

पुरवणी भीष्मारती रथापींनी केल्या.

किंकोळी

१००० विहीर तडवडे ।

२००० विहीर व्हीर मोरले ।

६००० देवाळय पुर्णगड ।

१०० विहीर साठगाव कामापुर प्राचा राजापुर

१२०० किंसा

२०० विहीर सोनगांव ।

२०० विहीर तिवरा ।

२०० विहीर शांखवला ।

१००० तळे वर्लीस ।

१५०० लेलीस विहीर ।

१००० विहीर कामठी ।

१००० विहीर पमारी ।

१२००

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४३००० ४७

१२५५००

सामाजिक जीवन व इतिहास

श्री

डे. कॉ. ग्रै. सं. २०।८६६

लखमोनी हवालदार मुआ माझीरस यासी आषा केली येसीजे. माझीरसहून
धोडोपंत भोवा आली यावरो तुमचे अभिमारतीचे काम काज सांगितल्यावर खुशाल
जालो. काम काज येणेप्राकरणे.

ओट बीसहजार तथार करणे
दर हजार रनयें साडेतीन पावणे
च्यार प्राप्त देणे. गावचे हलाचा
घेणे. बुतम ओट करणे

बारवांगी नव्यास पाणी पियाव्यास
गुरास कैपपळाकडील आगे बाजू

बराबर तीन हात संघ दोन हात
बुंची यापुमाजे गजी व साले
फरसगिरी करनन आत पाणी
राहे येसे सेवट वर बांधणे बाजूने ओक
आंग तुम्ही बांधणे. देक्लाकरील
सिलरे थेरल्यास नक्सगिरी जाली
तेव्ही पुरे. पुढील दोन मिक्रास
मुळील-२ साधे काम चुन्याचे करणे.
नक्सगिरी कराल तर माझे पाणीचे
आण असे.

बारवांगी मुस्तैद नालीयावर
वौधे पाथरवट तुम्हास पाहिजेत
ते चम- च्यार घेऊन देक्लामोक्ते
चव्यरा बांधलात त्यास पाठ्यर
घालणे. ओट मुस्तैद जालीयावर
वरील घर्षजाळेचे कंगारे करणे.

बुना मठीमा लोणारीयास
सांगोन मुस्तैद करवो देक्लावर
धर्मशाळेत बुजवटे घालाव्यास
पाहिजे. मुस्तैद करवो. येकल
फुडे देखून
बारवांगी मुस्तैद नालीयावर
सांगोन पाठवो. जान्ही सासा
तेपे येतो. जाणीजे. तुम्ही
बारवांगीहून तलीयावर येकमाऱ्यास
नेहमी झावेयास पाणी घालायास
ठेवो.

येणेपुण्याचे कामकाज करणे. सर्वोमात्र मार तुनवर ठाकीला आहे. आता माझे जीवास बरे बाढत नाही. इका मिळत नाही. मजला कष्टी न करणे. छ १७ जैवक इ आज्ञा.

श्री

डे. कॉ. डै. सं. १२१२५४

सन १७४६

किंतु पत्र गिरारतीले त्रिपुटी सेवेसी विज्ञापना ता छ ११ सप्तर पर्यंत वर्तमान येतास्थित असे यानंतर पिंगोरीचे विहीरीवर व्यार पाथरवट पाठक्ये म्हणून आज्ञा जैवास येणे पाथरवट थोडके येणे पायाचे कामाची निकट बहुत आहे. वृद्धावन्धकवरचे कारीगर आले ते व येथील येणे मिळेन पायावर लगट केला आहे. येथील पाथरवट पाठक्ये तरी पायाचे काम लोकर घेऊन येत नाही. स्वामीची आज्ञा नाहली तरी पाठक्यून मग येथील कामास दिरंग लागेल काय आज्ञा ते केळी पाहिजे. वरकड गाडेकरी याचे तीस रोज घरीले त्यास गाडेकरी म्हणतात - स्वामीची आज्ञा नाहली त्यापूरा तीस दिवस घालितो आणि घरी राहतो. आगांठ बाकी आपणास नको रोजास आकडे रनपथा वैरणीस दर गाडेयास लागतो. दरग फार आहे. आगांठ बाकी घेत नाही. तीस दिवस चाकरी करनन गाडे मोळीतो पावसात गवत चराकसास जाहालियावर चाकरी गापिती तरी करनन-येव्हा रोज घराल तरी आपणास पुरक्त नाही. आणि स्वामी म्हणतील की तीस रोज येव्हाच घालणे. तरी घालितो. परंतु मग चाकरी गाहास होणार नाही. येणे गाडेकरी म्हणतात. अद्यांठ बाटणी दिली ते नको म्हणतात. येव्हा जैवास येव्हा रोज घरावे ते फुढे पावसात घरीले म्हणजे क्वळ आहेत. येव्हा सारी बाटणी दिली म्हणजे चाकरी सुधास्त करतील. काय आज्ञा ते केळी पाहिजे. सेवेसी विदीत नाले पाहिजे इ विज्ञापना.

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राजकीय विराजीत राजमान्य

राजकीय नगन्नपथपंत स्वामी गोसावी यासी .

पोऽम् रामाजी महादेव सा नवस्कार किंति बुपरी घेठील कुशल जाणून
 स्वकीये लिहित असीले पाहिजे विशेष. आपण पत्र पाठक्ले ते पावळे. लेखनामी-
 प्राये सविस्तर कळले घेजास श्री स्थली यावे आपणास क्लामु पाठवावे
 हा संकेतव. परंतु झिंगजाचे ल्लेड्यामुळे प्रस्तुत भुरण्यमंत जाणे प्राप्त नाहाले आहे.
 जाझून मोदगानुरन्प कार्यसिद्धी जाली झूळजे टीकडून घेतो. श्रीचे दर्शनास घेऊन
 घेऊन दृश्युक्त आनंद झुत्ताह करनन मग श्रीची प्रार्थना बहुत प्रकारे करावी आणि
 जाताच कार्य मोदगानुरन्प होये ते करावे. ऐंठे घेठील पूर्वक्त प्रांगे शीकडे वसूल
 यावा झूळून गोविदगडी लिहिले असे. सारीज्ञ श्रीमुन्जाने नजर फिराक्ली आहे
 त्याचे पारीपत्य श्रीने करावे. आपण प्रार्थना करावी. जर नगू नोसी व बाळकृष्ण
 मट गणपुले ऐंठे याचे वसुलाक्षी काजिया करीतील तरी तेसे नसावे. तो घेऊन श्रीचा
 श्रीचे कोठीत राहा झूळ खर्च वेच श्रीचे आषे प्रमाणे व्हावा आपुमाणे करावे. द्वाम्हण
 मांडो लागतील बळेडा होआली घेसे नसावे सूक्नापूर्क लिहिले आहे. निमीत्य
 आपणाजवळ सारा अर्ध बोलीलो असो पु।। श्रीचे स्थानी अर्थमूळ चाकर म्हणौन
 सम्बोन श्रीचा गोब वसूल कोठीस नमा करनन काजिया न होये तो पदार्थ जाहला
 पाहिजे. बहुत काय लिहिले सविस्तर अर्ध लि।। आहे हे विनती.

श्रीमार्गवराम.

डे.को.डै. सं. १२१६४०

सन मे १७४४

श्रीमंत मार्गवरामप श्रीपरग्हास बाबास्वामीचे सेवेसी विनंति चरणांकित
 आनन्दी व राघु गैजे गोठणे कृतानेक साक्षांग पृष्ठाम विनंति अुपरी ऐंगील
 कुळ मुध दृहीया पूण्यार पर्यंत स्वामीचे आभिर्वादे कुळ विजेष पेमजी संमाजी
 सांलवी याज्ञवालर पाठक्ला तो पाक्याचा जाव (जशी निकृपंत (गानी)
 लिहून केऊनी कदम पाठक्ला तो पाक्लाच असेल वरकड राजशी संमाजी गांगारे
 आनी आम्हास पत्र लिहिले की , आम्हाजवळ कौणी शाहणी याणूस, जेवणाऱ्य
 करी ऐली नाही. याज्ञविता राहीय पाठवावयाची आशा केली असे पाठक्ले.
 योबद्दला वरीक पाठक्ली आहे. हे तुम्ही आपणापासी ठेवणे म्हणोन पत्र
 व वरीक पाठक्ली त्याजवरन आम्ही गुतर लिहिले की आम्ही तुमचा व राही
 तुमची. परंतु तुम्ही श्री बाबास्वामीचे पदरी घातले देव सेवा करावणास आशा
 शाळी त्याजपुण्ये थीचे चरणासी राहोन सेवा करनन असे. असे असता तुम्हा
 विसो असे करनन योबद्दला वरीक टेवा म्हणता ये गोळीस श्री स्वामी काय
 म्हणतोल त्यांची आशा असे करावणास नाही. राहीम तुम्ही नेणारच असाल तरी
 स्वामीची आशा होगील तेव्हा नेणे जाणि अगोदरच नेणार तो मुख न्या तुम्ही
 धनीच आहा परंतु श्री बाबास्वामीसी तुम्हापासून अंतर न पढावे स्वामीचा
 आभिर्वाद वृत्तफुकारे घ्यावा व येणेकरनन नय असे ऐसे अुतर लिहून पाठक्ले
 असे काय अुतर ऐंगील ते पाहावे तुम्हास काही राहीची जोड आहे ऐसे नाही
 रा. संमाजीबाबा यांची जोड आहे त्याचे सपाघान स्वामीने हरयेक प्रकारे
 करावे हेच थोर आहे. राही त्याजपासी असली तरी स्वामीचीच आहे येलिष्यी

कृत परिहार आम्ही लिहावा असे नाही. स्वामी संत आहेत रहीच्या मात्र
काही जावे असे नाही परंतु ते गांगडे नेणार तर ना ओल राहीस वरीस माहा
महिने पाठवू नका म्हणून कृत कृत तुम्हापानी किंति कुला वाचे पुकारी
केलीच होती परंतु स्वामीने न अंकिले वरे या उपरी लोकिक पदार्थ न होआ असे
केले पाहिजे. तुम्ही त्याजवा कोप काळ ते हीस कात्तारे नेतील तेगेकरनन
लोकिक होआन गाजकरता सूक्तार्थ लिहिले असे कोप न व्यावा हे किंति
नानादेव येळ केळ स्वामीनी आम्हापावेतो पाठवावा त्याजकरावा सविस्तर
संगोन पाठवू ही किंति

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श्रीमंत परमहंस मार्गिवाला स्वामीचे सेषेसी सेवक रघोजी मोस्ले सेनासाहेब
कृतानेक विज्ञापना गेडील कुळ जागोन स्वामीचे लेखनाश केली पाहिजे. विशेष
स्वामीने पत्र पर्सी- पाठकिले पावोन लेखनार्थ क्लो आला. बटकीचा मजबूर लेखन
केला येसी यासी बटकीचा विजये थोडीका आहे. स्वामीने कृपा करनु ब्राम्हणाच्या
बटकी देकिल्या पाहिजे. स्वामीम बटकी पाहिजे तर गांही देऊ. सेषेसी विदीत
नाहले पाहिजे ब्राम्हणाच्या बटकी गेल्या त्यापासून उपेत्त्वे करीतो अन्न प्रसीत
नाही यास्तव सेषेसी लेखन केले आहे. तरी कृपा करन नाज्ञा बटकी देकिल्या
पाहिजे. सेषेसी शुत होये हे विज्ञापना.

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सहजायु किंजीव विजयीमव जगन्नाथपंत गासि गाशा केली येसीजे आपण
गुरुवारी गालसीरसी घेऊन मुकाप केले त्यास मळहारजी होलकर याजमळून झैस व गाये
आली त्यास घेऊन कारखानेयावरील घाणम सोणा यादव व गालसीरस कर मळार देऊ

म्हैस व गाये पाठकिले आहे. त्यास म्हैस नवसीस देणे व गाये कृष्णीस देणे व
सोमालरालर गेणेपुणाणे पाठकिले असे.

११२ रनये रोस

गगरे गेणेपुणाणे

१ पाठाबू

१ उलाशे जेदाजी पवार यास पाठकिले
होते ते माघारे पा

१ रनये लुढेदार

१ धौगडी

१ सादी ५०।।।.

१ तुंडासे पांढरे

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गेणेपुणे घेबून पाकलीगाचे झुनर सुलतानमाओ यास पाठको व मेणकाफड मेक
पाठकिले आहे आपण निघोन व्हाडात मास्करपंताकडेस गेलो कल्ले पाहिजे हे
आजा.

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शीर्षक परमहंस स्वामी याही
सहशायु चिरंजीव रामाजी गणेश मुा जंजिरे सुवर्णदुर्ग यासी आजा केली येसीने
सजणी कुण्ठीण मळहारजी होळकर याणे आम्हास सेवेसी दिली होती त्यास गेये
आलयाकर साडून याती हिजला बकडा पाहिजे. याजकरता किला रवाना केली
आहे. मातुश्री सखारबाजी याचे सेवेसी देणे हिजला झडीसरी ढोजास सेर लुण्ठे
चोळा देत जाणे ठेवो

हा

कुण्बीण तुपनानी आहे. वरी ~~ल~~सुद नजरेत राहोन ठेवणे जाणीजे. माणसे पाठक्ली आहेत (फाळे) मव्हाची झाकि लावा अनुकूल पढेल तरी पाठवणे. जाणीजे हे आशा. से.....से लांबीचे कुक्लीयास तुम्हां जा कुण्बीणीचा कुण्बीण पाठक्ली म्हणून चिं. संभूसिंग यास परमारे लिा असे. जाणीजे छ११ रोक हे आशा.

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गीतं लावा स्वामीचे सेवेसी

वरणरज गणेश ब्लाड मुआ परजराम साष्टांग नमस्कार विनंति प्रार्थना

येणीजे. तां छ २४ रबीलाकूर पावेतो स्वामीचे आशीर्वादेकरनन सुखरनप असे.

यानंतर अनीपावेतो तारा निघाला परंतु हाली पाढे याचे वेठू पर ~~म्हणून~~ माणसे

मरण पावळी. आनीपावेतो देवाने राखीले आता मरतात. व रा रामाचे

कागदाचे जाल व सरदाराचे जाल घेऊन रा वि जी विळ कारभारी दिसत

पंतप्रतिनिधी यांचा कारभारी विळ हरीचा लेक आला याजक दिलहे आहेत .

पुढे गुराचे काये कावे कुण्बी बहुत गरतात विदीत जाले

पाहिजे बहुत काय....व सेवकास काहल नाहीं ते ते जेले आता डोंगीवरी

धयाव्यासी नाहीं . येचे मिळत नाहीं. तरी येक काहला सेवकास पाठवणार

स्वामी सर्व आहेत. बहुत काये लिहिणे हे विनंती माझी माणसे पर

त्यास येक कागद नयाडचे हवालदारा पाठकून हरप्रकारे त्याचे चालक्ये येसे

पत्र देवेन काहीं दाखले देवाचे पुढे मी देजीन. स्वामीविहीत आम्हास कोणही

नाहीं. हे विनंती .

हे.कॉ.झ.सं. २०।८९।

श्री स्वामीनी

तकरीर यहीण म्हार मैने यात्मीरम् छ २१ इजबी पाठील व गोविंद
केशव याजव ॥ धावडीस आला त्यासी हौगारात गवत काढीत होते. ते जागा
नैजून हक्कित विचारीली. ती येणे पुणाणे सरी असे.

प्रदूम मुक्तमान गावी ठेवीता होता व गोदी कोळीण मैने मळुरी होती. तीचे
म्ह ठिकाणी नाहीं. येसे वर्तमान गोविंदपंत कमाविसदार यासी कळीयावा मळा
सांगीत्ले ने प्रदुप यासी सजगावर घरणे. त्यावरनन आपण बोलीलोने आम्ही
वतंदार हे गोष्ठ कीतो नये त्याजवरनन गोविंदपंताने अभ्य दिलहे जे तुम्ही कोणे
गोष्ठाचा वसवमा न घरीतो जाझून घरणे त्याजवळ मळदूम व गोदी कोळीण अवेळी
बाहेर गेली. तो आपण लागात होतो. बावीनगीक बाजी पां पां याचा मळा आहे.
तेपै सेरेताटीत हरदुजणे येके जागा सणणे पाहिला. मग गोपाळ वाणी वेसीत होता
त्यासा वदाही देझून व दुसरा म्हार येसे मिळोन जाझून घरीली तो मुक्तमान पळून
गेला. गोदी कोळीण उठवून तीजळा विचारीले ने हे काय । ती बोलीली जे कर्म
नाहले. मग तीजळा आझून वाढीयात आणीली. त्यासी गोविंदपंत गावी नव्हते.
धावडीस आले. गोविंदपंताची बाझी कोने अटक केली होती. सर्वास ठाकी आहे.
तकरीर साली जर लठकी जाहाली तर गुन्हेगार.

तकरीर गोपाळसेठ वाणी येसीने. आपण वेसीत होतो तो महिमा म्हार याणे
वदाही देझून नेले. या मळदूम व ~~केळीण~~ कोळीण येके जागा देवीली. पुक्तमान
फ्लोन गेला. गोदी आझून याहाराने वाढीयात घातली. दोघे घाली हे सरे तकरीर
खरी असे.

सात

सोमाजी घाणेकर

विरापा वाणी कारो ।

चाकर दिला। श्री १

पुा राजशी शारोजी सिदे नामजाद रसालगड
गोमावी यासीं

३० जान. १९२२.

मुा असन्ने गिरीन प्या अलफ गणकुमारवाती परमुराम हा आफले
कामाम तळव्हास गेला होता तेथे माहादजी दिवट्याचे घरी राहिला होता तेथून
रात्रीस लखण ये मैगढी याचे घरात पाणी मागावयासी गेला. म्हणून सिदोजी
चक्काण वोसरीवरी होता. तो उठोन गण मल्कूर यासी घरनन बांधिले. आणि
मार केला कानी कुडव्या होत्या त्या व वरगोटा रस्याचा ऐसे घेतले आहे हे
आहे की
वर्तमान तुम्हास काही कळले नाही. श्रीचे स्फुरचे नाणसास त्याने दरम्यान
काये म्हणून मारावे याची काये हळकृत असेल ते म्हास आणून कुडव्या नोठ व
गोप घेतला आहे तो फिरोन देवणे. जाणीजे. रा छ २१ रबीलाखर.

लेरवनसीमा पा ४ २८ अमार्गिलरवर.

श्री

डे. नं. नं. १२११७

१७४६ पूर्वी.

विनंति शुभी बालकोजी अंतरा याणे आम्हास ओष्ठद दिल्हे आहे औऱघास
पुरंप केंयापासून तीन कें फुा आला. तेजास औऱघाचा विचार ऐसा कीं वरचेवरी
मावना पाहोन शुपाय कावा. त्यास राहाणे म्हटलियाने तो तुमचा चाकर म्हा
गानातो. शुघाडीचे दिवस असते तरी जाता येता आमची तेपा बरी बहस्त्र व्हावी
हे तुम्हास अगत्य आहे. तरी श्री बाबा स्वामीस विनंती करनन बालकोजी
आणवसेपर्यंत नेही राहोन शुपाये करी ऐसी आज्ञा त्यास करनन तेक रोखा व
अमारतीवरी पारपत्यास कोण्ही असेल त्यास तेक पत्र की बालकोजीस मातारोयास
नेहमा अवलेक पाठवणे. ऐसी पत्रे पाठकिंवा तुम्ही जरा येविसी
अमान न काजे बहुत काय लिहिणे हे विनंति.

श्री विद्यासंकर

डे को. डि.स. १२।१५७

श्रीमत्यरग्हसादि यथोक्त विरा
 दाकित श्रृंगेरी मिंहामनाधी श्वर
 श्रीमत्संकरचार्यान्य य संजाता --
 पो नवश्री विद्यानसींह मारती
 स्वामी करकमल संजइता भीनव
 श्री विद्यासंकर मारती स्वामी
 कृत नारायण स्परणाची --

राजमान राजेशी समस्त द्राघ्वृदं व राजकीय ग्रहात चिमणाजीपत व धोडौपत व ग्रहस्त
 व कुलकर्णी वास्तव्य धावडगी या प्रती विशेषतु तुमचे कल्याण अंगीत भाज्ञासप्वेत
 सम्यान म्हकार होअून संवारार्थ या प्रांते अगम होअून अजी म्हीगावीस आतव्य
 आहे, उद्दीक तुमचे स्थलास अगम होअील, पूर्वमुक्ता तुम्हास क्लावें म्हणोन लेख केले
 असे, अनकूल्य करणे ते साहित्यात असणे, या कार्यास द्राघ्न पाठविले असे यास वेवास

८८ ॥ २

देणे जाणीजे.

श्री

डे.को.डि.स. १२।१५४

असीर्वाद क्विति विशेष विरजीव सेा बागालाझीची रवानगी करनन दिली ती
 अस्तकाली मुखरनप पोऱ्ही. विरजीव बालाचे पुकूत वरी आहे. जीवर निघाला
 श्रीभार्ताचा ऊपद्रव होता त्याचे मानून घेतले की दसरा जाहाल्यावर पाझीस घेतो.
 या प्रो बोललो तेहो चांगलाच गुण दिल्हा. अन्ही आळै लागले. सारा स्ले देवाचा
 होता. आपण कालजी करन नये. वस्तवानी ग्रहास गेली तेही प्रार्थना केली. ऊळाचे
 अगवसास आणून देवील न देवील तरी जीवास उकाल या प्रा सागीतले आहे. त्यास

आपण हे पत्र सर्वास घरात वाचून दाखवावे. आणुन दिल्हयास अुतम . नाहीतरी
प्राणास मुकाल कळावे हे असीर्वाद.

श्री

डे.को.डी.स. २०।१०२२

श्रीमत महाराज श्री परमहंस बाबा स्वामीचे सेवेसी
चरणरज आबाजी त्रिंक मां नमस्कार किंती , येथील वर्तमान तात चैत
मुघ पूर्णिमा परोयेत स्वामी चे असीर्वादे करन येथास्थित झें. स्वामीकडून प्रसादी
नारल साहाडी म्हेच्याचा संदू क्रावर पाठकिंती ती पाकली. चतुर्थ कोणेवारा
येसे मागेन पाठवणे, म्हणून आता तर बुधवारी त्रिंतीया सात घटका रात न चतुर्थी
बुधवारीच आहे. ब्रह्मपतवारी चतुर्थी दोन घटका आहे. ती काही कार्याची नाही.
व्रतास बुधवारी असे. सेवेसी शुत होणे हे विज्ञापना.

श्री मार्गवराम

डे.को.डी.स. २०।१३६

श्रीमत मृगुनदनस्वरनपेस्यो परमहंस ऐनुकेसान मातुश्री शुगाबांडी यासी आज्ञा
येसांने वाकेडून बोलीलीस होती ते हिरण्य व अुत्तम वस्त्रे पाठदून बाबी होतीस मग
स्वासीस जावे होते मग कोटीची फते होआंल । न्यूकराव यावे अस्से ज्ञाना विप्राचा
वघ सत्वरीच होआंल. लांडी वक्त खरे केल्याने सहश्र हस्ते श्री देआंल हे सत्य मान. हे
दृव्य मेन्लिंगाच्या लेकास व तज्जाच्या कामास लाग्ले हा विकेक का केला नाही ।
कृष्णाजी दामावे यासी धावाची वाग्मना की बदलली । लांडी तुला कळले असावे .

श्री सच्चिदानन्द कंद मृगुनदन स्वरनप एवं परमहंस स्वामी क्षत्रिये तुलावंत शुदाराम पवा
यासी आज्ञा येसांने तुम्ही बांडीचे पदरी पहालो म्हणून लि ।। माझी घालगेल शिवाजी
झंकर याणे केली तरी ते तोडघरी पडतील मातुश्री शुगाबांडी याची फेकनिष्ठ सेवा करणे.

श्री अन्नते

घालगेल

(फाटले)

हे.कॉ.जै.स. २०।१७९

श्रीमत तीर्थसनप थी परमहोस वाला स्वामीचे सेवेसी सेवक गाहादजी सालोसे
 दबवत विनीती ऐंगील कुळ जाणून स्वामीनी कुळ लेबन करावार्या आशा केली पाढिजे
 विशेष घ्या करनन अमीर्वादपन पाठविलें तें पावोन लेवनार्थ क्लो जाला ऐसीयागी
 स्वामीनी श्रीमत सौभाग्यादिसंपन्न मातुशी बांडीसाहेबाचे नावे पत्र पाठवावे की
 "मोजे रोपले तो हक्केली परंडे हा गोव आही तुम्हास ओदण दिल्हा असे. आपणा-
 कडील गोवासी तीलकुळ यांहीं युता नाहीं .'' न्हणून पत्र लेहून पाठवावें न्हणजे
 हजार रुपयाचा कागद श्रीमत सौभाग्यादिसंपन्न मातुशी बांडीसाहेबाची पालखी बळ
 न्हणून सेवेसी लेहून पाठवू आपण कागद पाठवितील त्यात रुपयाचा कोही न्हूर न
 ल्याहावा सेवेसी शुत होय हे विज्ञापना (बाळबोघ लिपा)

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Note:- The main bulk of original letters utilised in this thesis is from Brahmendra Swami's correspondence in the Deccan College - Historical Museum. These letters are in two bundles viz. Rumal 20 and Rumal 12. The numbers of letters quoted in the thesis are old numbers. The letters were given continuous numbers in serial order - irrespective of the bundles later on. These new numbers have not been given to reference numbers.

Abbreviation.

Rumal 12 letters 1 to 1116 } DCHM
(Bundle) 20 letters 1 to 1235 }
54 letter 1/333 Rumal(Bundle)/Letter No.

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| | <u>Shivcharitra Karyalaya Vol.</u> | I & II | 1936 | SPS |
| Sardesai G.S. | <u>Marathi Riyasat Purvardha</u> | - | 1915 | SMR |
| " | <u>Marathi Riyasat Chhatrapati</u> | - | 1942 | SMR-CSPBV |
| " | <u>Shahu Peshwa Balaji</u> | - | - | - |
| " | <u>Vishwanath</u> . | - | - | - |
| " | <u>Marathi Riyasat Chhatrapati</u> | - | - | - |
| " | <u>Shahu Peshwa Bajirao</u> | - | 1942 | SMR-CSPB |
| " | <u>Marathi Riyasat Chhatrapati</u> | - | 1944 | SMR-CSPBB |
| " | <u>Shahu Peshwa Balaji</u> | - | - | - |
| " | <u>Bajirao</u> | - | - | - |
| " | <u>Mavlankar Sardesai Gharanyacha</u> ± | - | 1926 | SSGI-1 |
| " | <u>Itihasa Vol. I</u> | - | - | - |

| <u>Author</u> | <u>Name of the Book.</u> | <u>Edition or Vol.</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Abbreviation</u> |
|--------------------------------|--|------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Sardesai G.S. | <u>Selections from Peshwa Daftari:</u> | | | SPD |
| | <u>Shahu's Campaign against the Siddis of Janjira 1733-1736.</u> | Vol.3 | 1930- 1736 | |
| " | <u>Early activities of Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath</u> | 7 | 1931 | |
| " | <u>Shahu in his Private Life</u> | 8 | 1931 | |
| " | <u>Bajirao & his family 1720-40</u> | 9 | 1931 | |
| " | <u>Early strife between Bajirao and the Nizam</u> | 10 | 1931 | |
| " | <u>Private Life of Shahu and the Peshwas.</u> | 18 | 1931 | |
| " | <u>Shahu's Campaign against the Siddis of Janjira 1733-1736</u> | 33 | 1933 | |
| " | <u>Miscellaneous Papers of Peshwa Balajirao</u> | 40 | 1934 | |
| " | <u>Shivaji Souvenir</u> | | 1927 | |
| Sardesai Kale & Wakaskar | <u>Aitihasik Patren Yadi</u> <u>Wagaire Lekh</u> | | 1930 | APY |
| Sardesai Kulkarni & Kale | <u>Aitihasik Patravyawahar</u> | | 1933 | SAP |
| Shejwalkar T.S. | <u>Nizam Peshwa Relations</u> | | 1959 | |
| | <u>Subhashitratnabhandagaram</u> | | | |
| | <u>Nirnayasar Press</u> | | | |

3. Periodicals.

| <u>Name of the periodical and Editor.</u> | <u>Vol.No.</u> | <u>Article</u> | <u>Author</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|---|----------------|--|---------------|-------------|
| Agkush | VIII 4-6 | Ganapatya Kshetras. | - | 1928 |
| Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly | XXVIII 3-4 | Angrekalin Patra - Vyawahar | Avlaskar | 1948 |
| -do- | XXX- XXXI | Social & Economic Correspondence during the time of the Peshwas. | Oturkar | 1950 |
| | VI | Aitihasik San-kirna Sahitya | | |
| Bharatvarsha (Parasnisi) | - | Aitihasik Patra - vyawahar Yadi wagaire Khanda 2. | - | 1897 |
| | | Sri Mahapurush | - | 1900 |
| | | Brahmendra Swami | | |
| | | Dhavadshikar | | |
| | | Yanchya Nidhnachi | | |
| | | Bakhar, | | |
| Granthamala (Vijapurkar) | 60-70 | Marathyanchya Iti-hasachi Sadhane | Raj-wade | 1899 Oct. |
| | | Khand 3. | | 1900 Jan. |

| <u>Name of the periodical and Editor.</u> | <u>Vol. No.</u> | <u>Article.</u> | <u>Author</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|---|-----------------|--|---------------|---------------|
| Granthamala (Vijapurkar) | - 88 | <u>Rajwade's Preface</u> <u>to his III Vol.</u> <u>and Parasnis'</u> <u>reply.</u> | | 1901 |
| " | 90 | <u>The Frame of</u> <u>Brahmendra</u> <u>Swami's Mind -</u> - <u>Anonymous</u> | | 1901 Sept. |
| " | 92 | <u>Reflections / Raj-</u> ^{on} <u>wade's Preface</u> <u>to his III Vol.</u> <u>by Alekar.</u> | | 1901 Nov. |
| | | <u>Rajwadyanchya</u> <u>Tisrya Khandatil</u> <u>chukanchi Durusti</u> <u>by S.V.Athley.</u> | | |
| Itihasa-sangraha (Parasnīs) | - | - | | |
| Kavyetihasa- -sangraha. (Sane K.N.) | - | <u>Brahmendra</u> <u>Swaminche</u> <u>Charitra.</u> | | 1881 SK |